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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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OCTOBER 5, 1998



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This Week

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Cover

50 The dying seas

Seventy per cent of the earth is covered with water, but overfishing and pollution are killing the oceans. More than two-thirds of species are being fished beyond their ability to thrive. Many vital food sources are on the verge of extinction. Why do we let it happen?

PHOTO BY [illegible]

Features



TOM HANSON/CANAPRESS

12 Gunning for Chrétien

Parliament resumes, but questions about the RCMP's handling of security at last November's APEC summit dominate the political agenda



JOHN MACDOUGALL/AFP

60 A hero for social justice

The South African leader enjoyed Canadian honors and hospitality during a two-day visit



STAN HONDA/AFP

24 Seeking a way out

After Bill Clinton's video testimony gave him an unexpected poll boost, aides pushed Congress to settle for censure rather than impeachment. Republicans were unmoved



TOM CLARK/MACLEAN'S

40 Talk is cheap

Phone wars as the cost of long distance comes down. Canadians are phoning more and straining the system

From The Editor

Confronting Teflon man



Let it be noted from the outset that a lot of people are trying to make scandal stick to Jean Chretien, the Teflon man of Canadian politics. His political opponents and many media outlets have been hammering at his suspected role as the architect of the great roundup in Vancouver last November, when the Mounties shot pepper spray at protesters to break up a demonstration at the summit of adjectives called Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation. Having said that, if the RCMP Public Complaints Commission does not call Chretien as a witness, it will have failed in its duty to the Canadian people. The decision—Chretien denies he took it—to abrogate the rights of our citizens and placate a foreign despot (Indonesia's Suharto) was a gross and fundamental violation of civil liberties. The emerging evidence before a panel of the commission points directly to the Prime Minister and his staff as the culprits—and so far Chretien has not agreed to appear.



In the House: a partial apology

Chretien made a partial apology in the House of Commons last week, picking his words with extreme caution. As he put it, "I am sorry that some people had a problem with the police." Too bad you had that little problem getting in the way of the bus that ran over you, mate. But even that was a dramatic change in tone from Chretien's original tough-guy quip at the summit that he puts 'pepper on my plate"—a line that seemed all the more antagonistic given the PM's brown leather jacket and open-necked denim shirt.

Clearly, Chretien was trying to walk a fine line between showing contrition for the abuse of civil liberties and hanging the RCMP out to dry for the way they took down protest banners and emptied a tent encampment of demonstrators on the campus of the University of British Columbia. As he knows, the Mounties are dutiful note-takers. One reads: "PM wants the tenters out. ... PM says leave them until 6 p.m. ... PM wanted everyone removed." An e-mail from an RCMP inspector to a superintendent notes: "Common sense tells us we do not want banners, nor would the PMO's office. Having said that, banners are not a security issue. They are a political issue. Who is looking after that?"

The meaning of the various notes and memos will be explored by the panel when it resumes its hearings on Oct. 5. Make no mistake, the commission is an independent, bipartisan body of private citizens that is expected to do a thorough job. In its 1990-1991 annual report, its third, the commission declared: "As an independent body, the commission is not and must not be regarded as an integral part of the solicitor general's ministry or secretariat." Commission chairwoman Shirley Heafey, who is known as a Liberal but worked for Tory leader Joe Clark before becoming a lawyer, is regarded as a good, effective practitioner. Panel counsel Chris Considine earned a reputation as an able advocate when he represented Sue Rodriguez in her assisted suicide case before the Supreme Court of Canada. The commission already plans to hear from two key Chretien aides, chief of staff Jean Pelletier and former operations chief Jean Carle. The only thing the commission needs now is an undertaking that it also will hear from the third Jean, the one with the real clout.

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

A personal bond with the oceans



Wood: warning signs of decay

For Vancouver Bureau Chief Chris Wood, this week's cover story on the world's endangered oceans was an opportunity to indulge a lifelong personal passion for the sea. A former resident of the coastal village of St. Martins, N.B., he has lived for seven of the past 10 years on boats, and now makes his home in Vancouver harbor. "My view changes as the tides rise and fall," he says. "It is a bit like watching the sea breathe."

In his reporting, Wood noted that many of those who are active in the struggle to save the sea also feel a personal connection with it. Federal Fisheries Minister David Anderson recalled in an interview how he spent months sailing alone across the Pacific in a 43-foot sloop in the 1970s after losing his seat in Parliament. He was astonished to discover plastic littering the beaches of even the remotest Polynesian atolls. The minister's strong attachment to the sea, says Wood, has made him sensitive to the warning signs of its decay. The cover package, which includes an essay by the noted physician and deep-sea diver Joe MacInnis, begins on page 50.

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The Mail

L'Affaire Clinton

US President Bill Clinton had an extramarital affair in the Oval Office ("Starr crossed," Cover, Sept 21). He lied about it to a malicious prosecutor. Immoral, yes. But, did anyone die? Recent presidents have had freely elected leaders toppled and assassinated, fabricated incidents to legitimize bombing other nations, invaded holiday resort islands, and sent weapons to disgruntled rightists and repressive regimes that have killed innocent men, women and children. Never was the issue of resignation or impeachment even raised. Apparently, sexual impropriety and lying about it is far worse than political immorality leading to wars and innocent deaths. Clinton deserves everything Hillary is going to give him once he is out of office, but he does not deserve impeachment or censure, and certainly should not resign.

Kevin Hill
Winnipeg



Clinton: immoral, but no one died

I don't get it. Bill Clinton lies about his personal hanky-panky and the US government talks about impeachment, or at the least, a charge of perjury. Our guy lies blatantly to the electorate (he even denied promising to kill the GST with videotaped evidence to the contrary) and gets re-elected. Canadians have to be the dumbest of the dumb.

Mendelson Joe
Toronto

Was Bob Levin's apologia of Bill Clinton an attempt to demonstrate that his own jaded cynicism surpasses the President's ("Why Clinton should survive as president)? I think Clinton ought to resign not because he repeatedly lied under oath, nor because he tampered with witnesses, and not even because his judgment was so poor that he engaged in sexual relations with an employee. That's bad enough. But it gets worse. He lied to his wife, he lied to his cabinet, he lied to his friends and no doubt he lied to his daughter, too. Clearly, there is nothing that he would not willingly sacrifice on the altar of his own political self preservation. The President is a cad and a rat, without an ounce of self-respect, which means that doing the right thing, resigning, is as foreign to him as an unbooked night in the Lincoln bedroom.

John McIlroy,
Toronto

I understand that *Maclean's* had to publish some information regarding Bill Clinton, as the news is all over the world. However, I was extremely disappointed in the section titled "The chemistry of 'Handsome' and 'Sweetie' " How do the explicit details of an affair between two human beings affect my daily life as a Canadian? I am disappointed that *Maclean's* got caught up in publishing the trash.

Kelly Rusbrough,
Victoria

Surely in a mature society, the accused should be judged by the courts and not by the media. A little humility and less bravado would be appropriate in an editor-in-chief ("Why Clinton should resign," From the Editor, Sept 21).

Fred G. Thompson
Ottawa

Chiropractic on trial

With all due respect to the death of Laurie Mathiason of Saskatoon, following a chiropractic treatment of her neck, the amount of space *Maclean's* devoted to the coverage of this unfortunate event ("Lethal treatment," Health, Sept. 21) is out of proportion when comparison is made with the coverage of the thousands of deaths each year in Canada from adverse drug reactions. As reported in *The Globe and Mail* on Sept. 8, "1,400 to 1,900 Canadians die from the side-effects associated with NSAIDs [alone] every year." NSAIDs are non steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs. *The Journal of the American Medical Association* of April 15, reported that "in 1994, overall, 2,216,000 hospitalized patients had serious ARDs [adverse drug reactions] and 106,000 had fatal ARDs, making these reactions between the fourth and sixth leading cause of death." I look forward to seeing well-balanced, non-sensationalized coverage of all medical issues in *Maclean's*—not just sensationalized coverage of chosen alternative health-care methods.

Lionel Wilson,
Vancouver

In the article, it was stated that "effective screening tests should be found to identify patients who might be vulnerable to [vertebral artery] injury." As a physiotherapist, I am well aware of vertebral artery tests that can be used for this purpose. These tests are done without any special equipment and can demonstrate whether a patient might be vulnerable. A positive test might be nausea or nystagmus (abnormal movement of the eyes), among others. Are chiropractors not aware of these tests or are they just not doing them?

Catherine Richard
Smooth Rock Falls, Ont.

Who needs protecting?

I found your article on the tragic death of Laurie Mathiason after chiropractic manipulation perplexing and hypocritical. The question is who needs protecting from whom? According to the medical establishment, we need protection from everyone—but them. That leads me to ask the question: what about thalidomide, AIDS and hepatitis B and C contracted from blood transfusions, and the allergic reactions and side-effects of drugs? When one examines elective surgery, one finds that many people die in these procedures. Is that acceptable, while one death in one million in chiropractic is horrific?

Ed Liepert,
Lloydminster, Alta.

Debatable legacy

Peter C. Newman's quasi-separatist endorsement of Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard's partisan claim that Canada is not "a real country," coupled with his indiscriminate nostalgia for the Trudeau-Mulroney era, makes one wonder what his real point is ("Jean Chretien's failure to establish a legacy" The Nation's Business, Sept. 21). Chretiens

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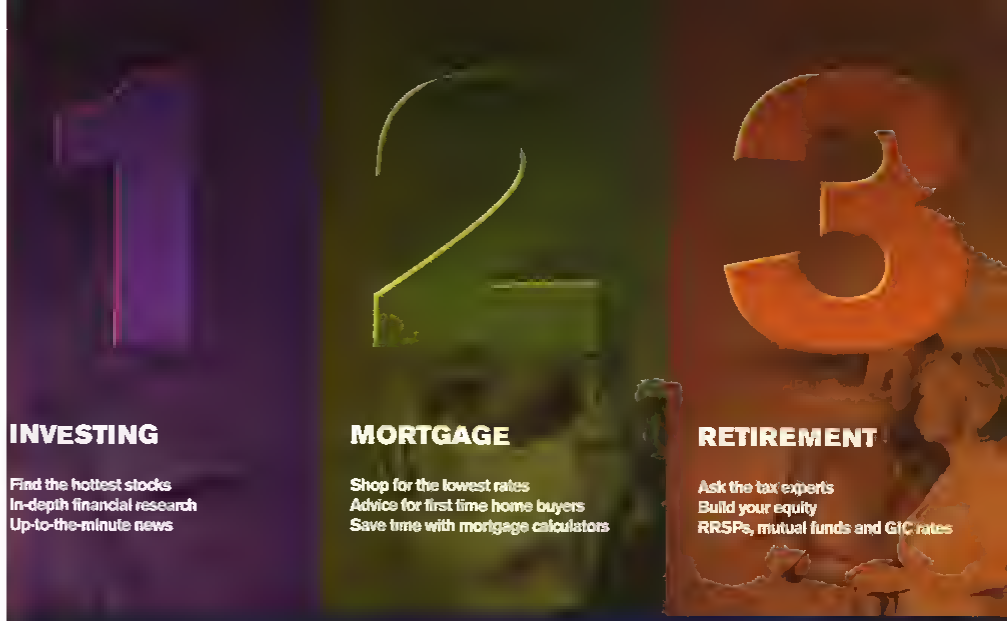
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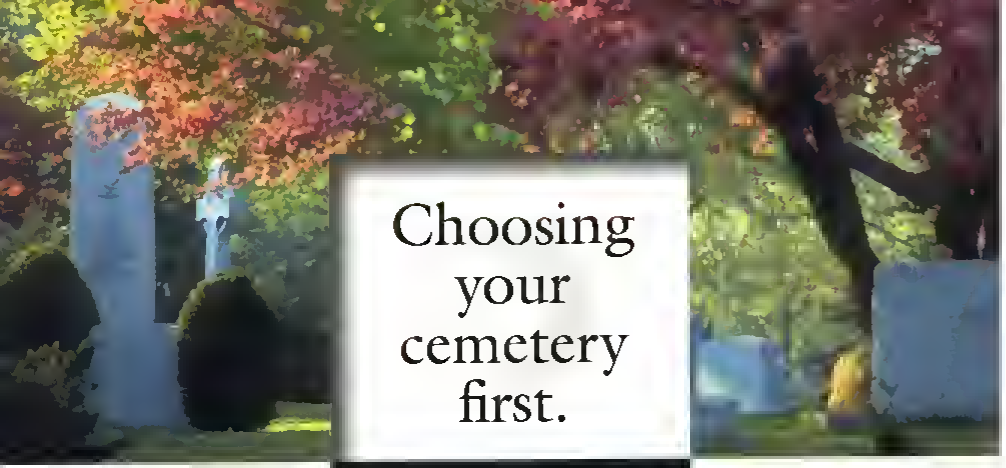
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government, for all its faults, has avoided the more egregious errors of its more flamboyant predecessors, confounding the pundits in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Mackenzie King, instead of flailing about trying to create a self-serving legacy.

Warren Stevenson,
Vancouver

Beyond rhetoric

Thank you for one of the few unbiased and well-researched articles about the current situation in the Ontario education system ("Teachers in turmoil," Education, Sept. 21). You did an excellent job of presenting just the facts, without getting into the usual rhetoric provided by the government or unions. As a high-school teacher, I realize how lazy I would appear to be if the public believed I was reluctant to spend a mere 20 to 25 extra minutes in the classroom. I was glad to see that you pointed out that many school boards are instead telling us to teach an additional 76 minutes a day—three times what the government stipulated. I would add that due to having to teach the extra class, supervision in the hallways, cafeteria, computer labs and extra-help rooms is severely diminished, if not absent, at our school. Not because teachers are mean-spirited, but because it just can't be figured out how to technically give us a 40-minute lunch (which many teachers work through as it is) as required by labor law. If I supposedly have such an easy day, why can't they find 40 minutes for me to eat my lunch or run photocopies, meet students for extra help and attend club meetings?

J. Cronsberry
Lindsay, Ont.

You described many of the sources of turmoil in our schools. However, you did miss one key point. There is no line in the funding formula for extracurricular activities. Previously, a proportion of the school budget was allocated to support activities outside the classroom. Schools, coaches and players actively fund-raised to make up the difference. In the past 28 years, I have coached at least two teams per year, but now I do not have the energy, time or finances to field a team.

Wendy Barber
Spencerville, Ont.

Sour-gas neighbors

We are among Wiebo Ludwig's closest neighbors, all living within an approximate five-kilometre radius of his farm ("Frontier justice," Canada, Sept. 7). While concerns do arise, we believe that the industry does what it can to control sour-gas emissions. The Ludwigs have claimed that their proximity to a number of well sites has resulted in an abnormally large number of human and animal miscarriages, as well as skin rashes among family members. As their closest neighbors, we surely would have experienced similar problems, but this is not the case. As users of products of the oil industry, we must be willing to accept that wells may sometimes be situated near our property and we must be willing to accept the small degree of risk that this entails.

Karen Bass
Hythe, Alta.

The Road Ahead

Looking beyond 'the Third Way'

Peter C. Newman writes that old-fashioned right- and left-wing political stereotypes are passé and that we are in dire need of new stereotypes and definitions to fit the times ("We have to make way for 'the Third Way,'" The Nation's Business, Aug. 31). In politics, he points out, the search is on to define a third stream of ideas. He suggests this "third way" is necessary if we are to avoid lapsing back into old political methods and procedures of 'resolving' issues.

A blend of ideologies is really not everyone's choice or answer. If we are searching for the best product or approach to politics, we should choose one that serves the majority's best interest in the particular circumstances. That means discarding political parties' pre-decided positions—the stuff of dull sheep—and dealing with the issues on their merits, as they arise. Parliament must become the highest political and economic court of the land.

Its membership must be reduced to a fair and manageable elected number, with a percentage appointed to ensure a balance. Partisan politics as we knew it is dying, and proper, effective, efficient decision-making is in. It's time for a change in method and procedure. A new format could bring greater stability as well as more consistency to the institution. Parliament today is out of control. It is too fat, too political and too unpredictable to provide the management the country requires now and in the future.

A stream of change is not sufficient to correct the management of Canada. A river of change is required. Get rid of party politics and loyalties and make decisions based on the facts with the objective of doing the right thing in the circumstances, first for the country and, second, for the citizens. Globalization will necessitate speedy and efficient decision-making, and governments must be free of political trappings and trash to be effective. Governing must become a business.

Bruce R. McDade,
Sydney, N.S.

***The Road Ahead** invites readers to advance specific solutions to Canada's political, social and economic problems. Unpublished submissions may run condensed as regular letters or appear on an electronic bulletin board.*

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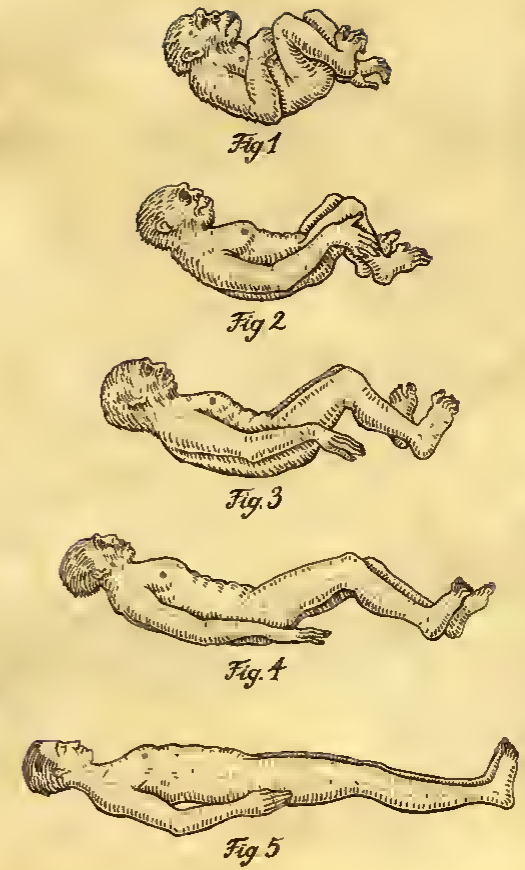
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Another View



Charles Gordon

A cynic's view of McGwire and Clinton

About the last thing anybody in North America expected was for morality to become an issue in sports and politics. Thanks to Bill Clinton, his friends and enemies, it is happening in politics. Thanks to people like Mark McGwire, it is happening in sports.

To whom can we turn for guidance? Well, there are the words of the great American sportswriter Grantland Rice, who died in 1954:

"When the One Great Scorer comes to write against your name—
He marks—not that you won or lost—but how you played the game."

Or, if you don't like those, there are the words of the great American football coach Vince Lombardi, who died in 1970: "Winning isn't everything—it's the only thing."

In politics it is less easy to find *le mot juste*. But the cast of characters—Clinton, Monica Lewinsky, Linda Tripp, Kenneth Starr—puts you in mind of the sports enthusiast who said: "It's the kind of game where it's too bad there has to be a winner."

The sayings of Grantland Rice and Vince Lombardi cover the entire philosophical range of sport. Any debate about any sports issue, be it the neutral zone trap in hockey or the use of drugs by would-be home run kings, turns on the words of these two men. And since sport is to many a metaphor for life, the behavior of statesmen falls under the same philosophical tent. If the President pleasures himself with a White House intern, the question will be looked at in either of two ways, depending upon the philosophical predilections of the observer:

1. What he did was wrong, no matter what.

Or,

2. Let's see what the polls say.

Is it the Great Scorer or the Great Pollster? Although neither Rice nor Lombardi is around to enter the debate, it is safe to assume that Lombardi would condone Mark McGwire's drug use in the breaking of the Babe Ruth and Roger Maris home run records. It is also safe to assume that Rice would condemn it. McGwire, as his defenders have been saying and writing in recent weeks, was doing something not forbidden by the rules, and it was justified by the necessity to win—winning in this case meaning breaking the home run record.

Grantland Rice's philosophical heirs have been saying the opposite: that, by taking at least some of his strength out of a bottle, McGwire was not playing the game fairly, no matter what the legalities of the issue.

It is a most interesting argument and perhaps the most interesting thing about it is the fact that it all of a sudden stopped. As McGwire surpassed the Maris record, all talk of drugs ceased, as if no one wanted to talk about it any more. The polls and open-line shows had already shown that American sports fans, whether they approved of McGwire's practices or not, were not prepared to see him punished for them. (Among the more interesting arguments, that an open-line show host who drank coffee had no right to criticize McGwire, since caffeine is also a drug.) Now, the indications were that the subject was off limits. A new consensus had emerged. People wanted, above all, for the home run record to be broken.

Perhaps this was a Lombardian consensus, perhaps not. Perhaps it was related to the strange early consensus that developed following revelations about the behavior of the President of the United States, just a few steps away from the Oval Office. The American public, although hardly approving, did not seem eager to bounce the man out.

The temptation is to see this as cynicism. The people, confronted with a President who cheats with interns and a slugger who cheats with drugs, are too weary to condemn, too ready to believe that such behavior is everywhere, and it is too much to hope for better. That interpretation is not encouraging for the future of the United States, nor for the many nations, including this one, that are strongly influenced by it. When sports heroes of today are no longer expected to set an example for the kids who look up to them, when the political heroes of today are no longer expected to adhere to higher standards than the people who vote for them, then it is difficult to see how those who would be the heroes of tomorrow can be expected to set high standards for themselves.

> The people are too weary to condemn cheating, too ready to believe such behavior is everywhere

But this may be too pessimistic an analysis. Perhaps those who refused to condemn the President of the United States and the first baseman of the St. Louis Cardinals are simply people who want to believe in their leaders, their heroes. Perhaps Americans are tired of cynicism.

That would be good.

And Canadians? Well, clearly, on the evidence of our own polls, we want to believe in Jean Chretien. What else could explain our continuing refusal to allow ourselves to be swayed by such matters as health care, golf, pepper spray, fisheries, golf, hepatitis C and whatever happened to the Red Book, anyway? Patronage is as bad as it was under the Mulroney Conservatives, about whom Canadians were profoundly cynical. But we stand by our man.

Canadians' current lack of cynicism can only mean that they like Chretien and are determined to trust him. If this is true, then he has an opportunity to show some leadership, keep some promises and govern with the kind of energy and imagination this country needs. It has been a while since anyone tried. This may, indeed, be the time to tell the Prime Minister about the Great Scorer.

As long as he doesn't take it as an invitation to play golf.

Opening NOTES

Edited by TANYA DAVIES

Perilous business

Want to experience danger and hand-to-hand combat with the enemy? Forget the army—join the department of fisheries and oceans as a fishery officer. In the past 10 years, according to department documents, officers have suffered 362 violent and abusive incidents at the hands of fishermen across the country.

The worst violence has involved weapons ranging from the commonplace (rifles and pistols) to the exotic (spears, tire irons, baseball bats, flashlights, paddles). Some officers have been taken hostage, while others have been attacked by dogs. Department property has not been spared—tires were slashed, a boat was burned, another was sunk and a local office was trashed, with all the computers tossed out the window. Officers have been threatened with a meat cleaver and a gaff. They have been warned that they will die by hanging and drowning, that they will be run over, that their fingers will be chopped off, and that they will be knee-capped. All in a days work.



DANIEL S. FINLEY

A Fisheries officer patrolling in the Fraser River, attacks with spears, bats and paddles

Having 'fun' on Bay Street

When economists and stock analysts meet to consider the global economy, humor—particularly of the locker-room variety—is normally in short supply. But Paul Summerville, chief economist at Canada's largest brokerage firm, RBC Dominion Securities, clearly wasn't worried about bucking convention when he spoke last week at the annual forecast dinner of the Toronto Society of Financial Analysts. Summerville, who speaks Japanese, began by performing an at-times crude imitation of a Japanese finance official. He followed that with a racy skit about two American women who, packing knee pads, were off to meet the President in the "oral office." When the laughter died down, he turned his attention to post-economic union Europe, as he spoke, video screens flashed a photo of Nazi storm troopers.

Not surprisingly, the hall was abuzz with speculation about how Summerville's talk would be received by straitlaced executives at the Royal Bank, which owns RBC Dominion. Some wondered if his risque performance might have had something to do with the proposed merger of the Royal and Bank of Montreal, which owns rival brokerage Nesbitt Burns Inc. If the merger goes ahead, the theory goes, Summerville might have to take a backseat to Nesbitt's chief economist, Sherry Cooper. 'He's probably thinking, 'Just give me a big severance and I'll go,' " said one attendee, adding that the highly regarded Summerville "probably has five job offers in his back pocket." Could one be from *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*?



EVAN MITSUI

Summerville: after a golden handshake?

EMPORIUM

Yukoners spend more per week ($2.83) on coffee and tea than any other Canadians, but that likely has more to do with cost than consumption

The weekly average in other regions:	British Columbia	$2.02
	Manitoba	$1.54
	New Brunswick	$1.23
The weekly average spent per person at restaurants:	Newfoundland (the lowest in Canada)	$15.83
	Quebec	$31.56
	Ontario	$29.27
	British Columbia (the highest)	$39.55

SOURCE Realm magazine

GOLDFARB POLL

When it comes to infidelity, Canadians strongly believe that it is morally wrong. But there is some regional variation: more westerners take a hard line against adultery than easterners. By percentage of 1,400 adults surveyed

	B.C.	Prairies	Ontario	Quebec	Atlantic Canada
Believe extramarital relations are morally wrong	67	88	85	69	73

DATA COLLECTED FEBRUARY 1998 — Goldfarb Consultants Limited



Ontkean now; with Newman in 1977: from pucks to parts

DOUBLE TAKE

Michael Ontkean

At the age of 20, Michael Ontkean was torn between careers in acting and professional hockey. The young Torontonian chose acting, making his name seven years later in the 1977 hockey film *Slap Shot*. Since then, Ontkean has appeared in scores of movies and TV productions, including the early '90s cult classic series *Twin Peaks*. In recent years, he has acted less frequently. But now, with the upcoming family film *Summer of the Monkeys*, 48-year-old Ontkean is back in a starring role. "My eight-year-old daughter asked to see some of my work, and I realized that nothing was suitable for children," says the actor, who also has an 18-year-old daughter with his wife, Jamie Smith Jackson, a painter. "So I decided to do a film that was family-oriented."

As a child, Ontkean displayed natural talent on both the ice and the stage. The son of actors Leonard Ontkean and Muriel Cooper Ontkean, he made his acting debut at age 3. But when he was 14, he chose to focus on hockey, eventually attending the University of New Hampshire on a sport scholarship. A chance meeting with Canadian director Norman Jewison changed all that, and three weeks later he was on the set of his first film, *The Toy Factory*. But it was his role in *Slap Shot* that Ontkean remembers most fondly. "It was a dream role for me," he says. "Hockey *and* acting with Paul Newman."

Eight years ago, Ontkean and his family settled in Zuma, Calif., a community 100 km north of Los Angeles. He has slowed the pace of his acting career to make room for his other passion—writing poetry. And has he missed hockey over the years? "I think I made the right choice," he says. "I get to live where I want, play act all day and I get paid for it. What else could I ask for?"

TANYA DAVIES

CAPITAL CONFIDENTIAL

Who would have thought that number crunchers toiling in the bureaucracy would emerge as champions of the public interest? First came the case of Bernard Dussault, who was fired last month as the Canada Pension Plan's chief actuary. Dussault says he was canned because his next report showed that last year's overhaul of the CPP was flawed. The government claims Dussault was let go for other reasons. Now, officials at the Employment Insurance Commission are wondering about their chief actuary, Michel Bédard. His forthcoming report is expected to show the government has scant justification for keeping the EI premium at $2.70 for every $100 of insurable earnings. In fact, a leaked memo from Bédard to other actuaries said just that. Martin wants to keep the rate high because generating EI surpluses—at least $5 billion more this year than it pays out—amounts to a windfall on the federal books.

Bédard's memo said the government should not use EI surpluses to "buy submarines, reduce personal income tax or improve health care"—all options Martin is thought to be considering. Asked last week whether he fears for his job or independence, Bédard commented dryly to *Maclean's* that firing him "wouldn't look good."

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. **Rainbow Six,** *Tom Clancy (1)*
2. **I Know This Much Is True,** *Wally Lamb (2)*
3. **A Widow for One Year,** *John Irving (5)*
4. **A Recipe for Bees,** *Gail Anderson-Dargatz (3)*
5. **The Love of a Good Woman,** *Alice Munro (4)*
6. **The White Bone,** *Barbara Gowdy (9)*
7. **Summer Sisters,** *Judy Blume*
8. **Sailing to Saranthum,** *Guy Gavriel Kay (6)*
9. **Point of Origin,** *Patricia Cornwell (8)*
10. **The Eleventh Commandment,** *Jeffrey Archer (7)*

NONFICTION

1. **The Red Shoes,** *Rosemary Sullivan (4)*
2. **Boiling the Cat,** *Mordecai Richler (1)*
3. **Angela's Ashes,** *Frank McCourt (7)*
4. **The Day Diana Died,** *Christopher Andersen (2)*
5. **Who Killed Canadian History?,** *Jack Granatstein (10)*
6. **A Walk in the Woods,** *Bill Bryson (3)*
7. **Eat the Rich,** *P.J. O'Rourke*
8. **Bodies Unaken Sea,** *Derek Landy (5)*
9. **From Stone Orchard,** *Timothy Findley (6)*
10. **In the Meantime,** *Iyanla Vanzant (3)*

() Position last week
Compiled by Brian Bethune

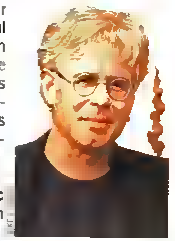
Mars, the moon and the Cold War

It is only because of the Cold War that humans have landed on the Moon and explored Mars. That is the premise of *This New Ocean: The Story of the First Space Age* (Random House), by William E. Burrows, who interviewed 175 U.S. and Russian scientists and engineers, as well as studying formerly top-secret documents.



Passages

AWARDED: Governor General's Awards for performing arts, to singer-songwriter **Bruce Cockburn**, 53, retired tenor **Jon Vickers**, 72, film producer and co-founder of the Montreal Film festival **Rock Demers**, 64, choreographer and former artistic director of the Royal Winnipeg Ballet **Arnold Spohr**, 70, and stage director and actor **Paul Buissonneau**, in Toronto. The $10,000 prizes and commemorative medallions will be presented to the recipients by Gov. Gen. **Romeo LeBlanc** at Rideau Hall on Nov. 6.



DIED: Television actor **Mary Frann**, 55, of heart failure, in Beverly Hills. Frann was best known for her role as **Bob Newhart**'s wife on the long-running sitcom *Newhart*.

DIED: Former director of the San Francisco Opera and Port Arthur, Ont., native **Terence McEwen**, 69, of a heart attack, in Honolulu.

DIED: Susan Barrantes, 61, mother of **Sarah Ferguson**, the Duchess of York, in a car accident, in Tres Lomas, Argentina.

DIAGNOSED: Mafia boss **John Gotti**, 57, with throat cancer, in Marion, Ill. Gotti, who was convicted in 1992 of murder, loan sharking, extortion, fraud and other crimes, was transferred from the U.S. Penitentiary, located in Marion, to the federal prison hospital in Springfield, Mo., for treatment.

ENDED: Baseball player **Cal Ripken**'s streak of 2,632 straight games, when he voluntarily sat out a contest in Baltimore. Ripken, 38, had not missed a game since May 29, 1982. Three years ago, he surpassed **Lou Gehrig**'s iron-man record of 2,130 games.

AWARDED: The 1998 MuchMusic Video Awards in Toronto. Winners included **Madonna**, 40, for best international video and **The Tragically Hip** for best video performance. The People's Choice awards were presented to **Celine Dion**, 30, for favorite Canadian artist, **Our Lady Peace** for favorite Canadian band and **Sarah McLachlan**, 30, for favorite Canadian video.

Under the gun

The APEC inquiry may become an outright crisis

BY JOHN DeMONT

Chris Considine is clear on one thing: he is not out to get the Prime Minister. "I do not have an agenda," declares the head lawyer for the RCMP Public Complaints Commission's inquiry into how the Mounties quashed student protests during the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation summit in Vancouver last fall. Impartial as he is, Considine could still give Jean Chrétien nightmares. His job, after all, is to methodically assemble the inside story behind one of the most-watched pieces of Canadian television news footage in recent memory—the RCMP's now-infamous pepper-spraying and arrest of demonstrators at the University of British Columbia. And last week, as a flood of new documents and revelations raised troubling questions about the government's involvement in the security debacle, it looked like Considine's mounting pile of evidence had the potential to transform a political embarrassment for the Prime Minister into an outright crisis.

The Liberals may remain high in the public opinion polls, but they are hitting speed bumps with increasing regularity. And the succession of suspicious details about the Prime Minister's alleged role in the APEC saga made for a particularly rocky resumption of Parliament last week after the summer recess. Hoping to counter the harsh impression that he cares more for the well-being of Asian dictators than Canadian students, Chrétien even issued a sort-of apology, a rare enough thing for a prime minister who hates mea culpas. "I am sorry that some people had a problem with the police there," he said in the House. "No one wished for that to happen and that is why there is an inquiry."

But with the opposition hammering away on the issue and reporters poring over the thousands of pages of internal documents unearthed by the complaints commission, each day seemed to bring new insights into the Mounties' heavy-handed approach to security at the APEC summit. And, increasingly, Chrétien's critics say the trail leads to the Prime Minister. As ammunition last week, they pointed to a handwritten note by a Privy Council Office official who said Chrétien would want to be "personally involved" in APEC security arrangements. Then, there were allegations by native Chief Gail Sparrow, who said she saw Chrétien barking orders at RCMP officers to prevent Asian leaders from seeing human rights protesters and signs at the summit. "He was constantly walking back and forth," the chief of the Musqueam band in Vancouver told reporters, "talking to different people, security, nodding his head, giving arm signals, being very on top of things."

That is not the Chrétien Canadians are used to seeing. Suddenly, a prime minister who depends upon his folksy, down-home style for so much of his popularity is on the defensive. And things are likely to get worse when the commission inquiry resumes in Vancouver on Oct. 5 before a three-member panel. But, in truth, the tribunal seems like an unlikely venue for political intrigue. Even Shirley Heafey, chairwoman of the complaints commission, notes that her organization has heard just 19 cases in the past 11 years, "none of them anywhere as high profile" as the APEC furor. And critics such as NDP MP Svend Robinson say getting to the bottom of what actually happened during the APEC summit and the run-up to it seems beyond the powers of a commission that reports directly to the federal solicitor general. "This inquiry goes to the very core of the government," Robinson declares. "How can it be impartial?"

But the commission, created in 1986 after a royal



TOM HANSON/CANAPRESS



MIKE ROBERTS/THE WHIG-STANDARD

Pro-gun rally on Parliament Hill (above); Chrétien: the Liberals are hitting speed bumps

TAKING AIM AT THE FIREARMS REGISTRY

The day before, thousands of chanting, placard-waving gun owners stormed Parliament Hill to protest the imminent new national gun registry. Justice Minister Anne McLellan announced that the controversial system's start-up would be pushed back from Oct. 1 to the beginning of December. Rally organizers, already deeply suspicious of the federal government, claimed the decision proved their long-standing accusation that the registry was hopelessly disorganized. But McLellan said the request for the extension came from Ontario police chiefs who were worried that the original deadline was too soon to enter all the critical information needed for firearm owner background checks. Said McLellan: "I felt it was a reasonable request."

But reasonableness does not count for much in the superheated debate over Ottawa's gun legislation. The registry in particular has been engulfed by controversy since 1995 when then-Justice Minister Allan Rock tabled Bill C-68. Among other measures, the Firearms Act requires the country's roughly three million gun owners to get licences and register every firearm they own—some seven million in all. Tighter gun control, polls consistently show, is favored by the majority of Canadians—overwhelmingly so in urban ridings. Victims groups have lobbied hard for it. And police chiefs are anxious to see a registry that will enable officers about to enter a home to punch an address into a computer and find out if the person inside owns any guns.

Still, as last week demonstrated, the outcry against the tough new law is loud as ever. Four provinces—Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario—and both territories continue to challenge it in court on constitutional grounds. The 10,000 protesters who massed in Ottawa said the act will do little to prevent deaths from firearms, while entangling law-abiding gun owners in a thicket of regulations on registration, storage and transportation of firearms—all enforced by powerful search and seizure provisions. Some went even further, claiming the government's actions were part of a plan to confiscate guns from owners. "It's clear this government is out to eliminate hunting and shooting sports," says rally organizer Al Dorans. And opponents denounced as a tax grab the act's cost to owners—new fees for registration, licences, acquisitions and ownership transfers.

Ottawa's own costs are high. First estimated by Rock at about $85 million, the registry's price tag has already passed $120 million, and some observers expect the government will soon be forced to spend hundreds of millions more on computer upgrades. A defiant McLellan, however, ruled out taking another look at the new system. "The debate is over," she declared. "Canadians have decided that they believe in gun control." But as the clamor against the registry echoed throughout the capital, it was clear that not all Canadians agree.

JOHN DeMONT *in Ottawa*

CALLING ALL HONORABLE CANADIANS



Maclean's 13th annual Honor Roll of 12 Canadians will appear in the December 21 issue, on sale on December 14. Readers are invited to submit nominations with testimonials of 50 words or less. To be honored, candidates must be Canadian citizens whose contribution to the life of the nation in 1998 is worthy of special recognition.

A panel of editors seeks candidates, famous or not, from a wide variety of fields with only one exception: those engaged professionally in politics.

Submissions should be sent to:

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Maclean's
WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

commission called for a new process for making the RCMP and its members accountable to the public, considers itself independent—and its members bristle at questions about their impartiality. The panel examining the APEC question was formed last February and must technically confine its recommendations to the way the Mounties conducted themselves during the APEC meeting. But it still has clout—its broad powers to investigate, summon witnesses and hear evidence extend beyond even those of a regular court of law. Given that, the inquiry will undoubtedly shed some light on the Prime Minister's role in the affair.

Moreover, if personal background is any indication, the three panel members have little obvious reason to favor Chrétien or his government. Chairman Gerald Morin is a Cree lawyer and native activist from Prince Albert, Sask. John Wright, the only panelist to have been an active politician, once ran (unsuccessfully) for the NDP in the Yukon. A longtime mediator and labor arbitrator, he now chairs the Yukon's Workers' Compensation Board. The lone British Columbian on the panel is another aboriginal, Vina Starr, a member of the Kitamaat nation, whose law practice is based in a coastal village of the same name.

Opposition critics say the trail leads to Chrétien's doorstep

Inquiry lawyer Considine, the great-grandson of Sir Joseph Pope, a close confidant and adviser of Sir John A. Macdonald, has also shown a willingness to lock horns with Ottawa. Just 44, the lean, energetic Victoria lawyer likes to race his 12-m sloop in his free time, serves as an honorary consul for the Kingdom of Nepal and is such an avid mountain climber that he was a member of the base support team during a 1988 Canadian assault on Mount Everest. He faced off against Ottawa in his most famous case, representing terminally ill Vancouver Islander Sue Rodriguez in the Supreme Court of Canada in her plea for the right to an assisted suicide—a case that won him recognition as an ardent advocate of individual rights. This time, he stresses, his role is very different. "I am not an advocate for either side," he explained. "My job is to act in the public interest, to remain neutral and to find out what happened and why."

He and fellow counsel Kevin Gillett are tackling the job with zeal. So far, they have unearthed thousands of pages of documents and amassed 60 hours of video recordings of events surrounding the summit. Chrétien's office has not exactly bent over backwards to help the probe. Jean Carle, the former chief of operations in the Prime Minister's Office, told Considine he had no written records of his activities to hand over—a revelation that caused New Democratic Leader Alexa McDonough to accuse the ex-Chrétien aide of shredding incriminating documents. Considine is unwilling to go that far. But he has contacted the government's lawyers "and asked them to take another look throughout all levels of government to make sure they hadn't missed anything."

The parade of witnesses scheduled to appear before the inquiry is clearly beyond the government's control. To date, some 130 individuals have been called. Chrétien has said he sees no reason to testify because, he says, he never spoke directly with the RCMP about security at the summit. But Considine is offering no guarantees. "If, as we go through the evidence and we agree that the PM has relevant information, then he will be called on to take the witness stand," he told *Maclean's* last week.

Barring the Prime Minister's appearance, the most dramatic witness is expected to be Carle. The husky, intense party operative, who was once an assistant to John Turner, switched his loyalties to Chrétien in the late 1980s. When Chrétien led the Liberals to victory in 1993, Carle became his director of operations, but was always much more than a hired hand. Carle has often been described as being "like a son" to Chrétien, at one time having lived in the leader's home. His devotion to Chrétien also earned him a reputation for flexing his muscles on behalf of his boss. At the APEC gathering, he lived up to that billing, at one point threatening to remove the credentials of a female journalist after she tried to question the Prime Minister during a photo opportunity with South Korean President Kim Young Sam.

Did Carle go too far in Vancouver—as even some Liberals have speculated? His turn before the commission may provide some answers. Earlier this year, Carle left Chrétien's office for a job at the federally owned Business Development Bank of Canada in Montreal, where he is senior vice-president of corporate affairs. Requests for an interview from *Maclean's* last week were referred to his Ottawa lawyer, who did not call back. But, asked about his hardball reputation during an earlier interview with *Maclean's*, he responded: "I had a job to do. Sometimes I had to be tough. But I was always up front. I never stabbed people in the back." The question now, however, is how up front Jean Carle—and perhaps his boss—will be about what really happened at the APEC summit. □



Bill Vander Zalm returns to the fray

BY CHRIS WOOD

The most glorious summer the west has seen in years finally came to an end two days after the calendar officially flipped over into fall. And as cloud and rain settled over British Columbia, the worsening economic gloom seemed equally palpable. In the interior city of Penticton, NDP Premier Glen Clark and Liberal Opposition Leader Gordon Campbell tested sound bites on their aides, preparing like rival prizefighters for their annual speeches to a conclave of B.C. mayors. In Vancouver, Bill Vander Zalm faced a somewhat less demanding audience, a weekly meeting of the downtown Kiwanis Club. But these days, the 64-year-old former premier, driven from office by scandal in 1991, takes his listeners where he can find them. Looking fit and crisply tailored, his 1,000-watt smile undimmed against the permanent tan, he described how the province has changed since he led it. "Seven years ago, this province was No. 1, not only in Canada, but in North America," he told his listeners. "Now, we're the highest taxed in North America—and our unemployment rate is the highest of any place in the country."

No matter that at least part of the comparison is untrue—Newfoundland's 18.9-per-cent unemployment rate far exceeds British Columbia's 8.6 per cent. Vander Zalm has never been one to let fact stand in the way of a good diatribe. His strong suit is presence, not precision. And since taking control of the Reform Party of British Columbia in June, Vander Zalm has been making the most of it. Looking very much like a man eager to get back into the ring, he has been crisscrossing the province, ducking questions about whether he will run as a candidate in the next election, and testing out a stump speech that plays strongly to the views of socially conservative, especially Christian, voters.

How far the devoutly Catholic millionaire's support extends is a matter of conjecture. Most analysts doubt it is enough to launch a serious bid for power. But to many British Columbians that may not matter. Already, Vander Zalm's political return has chilled the hearts of leader Gordon Campbell's right-leaning Liberals, who worry that what they had seen as near-certain victory in the next election might collapse into the nightmare scenario of a deeply divided right-wing vote. Anticipating the same prospect, left-wing Vancouver lawyer and gay rights activist Barbara Findlay quips that the flamboyant Vander Zalm's comeback flirtation "is the best news the NDP has had this term."

That, of course, is not how Vander Zalm sees it. The speeches he delivers to appreciative audiences in places like Fort St. John, Prince George and Quesnel, as well as Vancouver, are peppered with scathing references to NDP "lies," "fraud," and "hypocrisy." And he has lost none of his capacity for controversy. Vander Zalm has excoriated the socialists for "discrimination" against a Christian newspaper banned from sale on B.C. Transit property for alleged anti-homosexual content. He has demanded that gay rights be put to a referendum. He would like to "pay every native, man, woman and child, one-half million dollars apiece," to abandon all claim to special aboriginal status and become "Canadians, just like everybody else."

Vander Zalm delivers his prescriptions with a breezy assurance that even opponents envy. "He's got something you don't see in Campbell," says pollster Mary Bacica of Vancouver's MarkTrend Research. Bacica saw evidence of that in a survey conducted this summer. In a two-way race, Campbell placed far ahead of Clark in personal popularity: 42 per cent to 24 per cent. But when the survey was repeated with Vander Zalm added to the mix, Campbell's lead collapsed, from 18 points to five. (Vander Zalm in turn trailed Clark by a mere three points.)



Vander Zalm: looking like a man eager to get back into the ring

PHOTO BY PAUL SULLIVAN

Offsetting the unquestioned charisma is Vander Zalm's record in office. As Simon Fraser University political scientist Lynda Erickson notes, "There is a lot of baggage there." And what baggage it is. These days, Vander Zalm evokes the memory of Liberal prime minister Pierre Trudeau in bogeyman terms, as one reason for British Columbians to shy away from Campbell. He does not mention that his own first foray into politics was in the 1968 federal election—contesting a B.C. riding as a 34-year-old Trudeau Liberal. Vander Zalm lost that race, but went on to become mayor of the Vancouver suburb of Surrey and then a Social Credit minister in the cabinet of B.C. premier Bill Bennett. Dogged even then by controversy, Vander Zalm resigned his seat on Good Friday, 1983, after a dispute with the premier. The following year, with his wife Lillian, he bought Fantasy Gardens, an 8.5-hectare biblical theme park and botanical garden south of Vancouver, for $1.7 million.

The former premier worries his friends more than his enemies

His first political retirement lasted just three years. In July, 1986, after Bennett stepped down, Vander Zalm swept to the Social Credit leadership, overcoming the fact that he lacked both a seat in the legislature and the support of even a single member of cabinet. Three months later, he led the party to a landslide election victory. Within months, his government became mired in controversy. The free-wheeling premier's shoot-from-the-lip leadership style frequently caught even his own ministers by surprise. In early 1988, after the Supreme Court of Canada struck down federal legislation limiting abortions, he outraged many in the province by announcing his government would no longer fund the procedure. A month and a half later, the B.C. Supreme Court ruled against the Socreds and Vander Zalm was forced to retreat. But the premier was soon under fire again, this time for appearing to favor friends in the sale of real estate along Vancouver's False Creek, the former site of Expo 86. By 1990, his government had lost six straight byelections to the NDP, and nine cabinet ministers to resignations prompted either by scandal or protest over Vander Zalm's leadership.

By then, Fantasy Gardens was also faltering—in part because persistent anti-government protesters were affecting business at the theme park's stores. Vander Zalm and his wife found a potential buyer for the property in Taiwanese billionaire Tan Yu, and set about courting him. Lillian wrote to Tan that "my husband the premier" had arranged for Tan's representatives to meet senior government officials. Vander Zalm himself placed a call to Petro-Canada president Wilbert Hopper, trying to pave the way for Tan's purchase of land the oil company held next to his own property. In early August, Tan agreed to buy Fantasy Gardens for $16 million, sealing the deal with $20,000 cash in U.S. currency delivered to Vander Zalm at a late-night meeting in a Vancouver hotel.

Vander Zalm initially denied any role in the sale. But when documents surfaced contradicting his version of events, he asked B.C. conflict-of-interest commissioner Ted Hughes to review the case. Finally, on March 29, 1991—another Good Friday—Vander Zalm announced he would step down as soon as his party elected a new leader. Four days later, Hughes released his report, a damning indictment of Vander Zalm's conduct. Hours later, the former owner of Fantasy Gardens emerged from Government House after delivering his resignation to Lt.-Gov. David Lam, and drew reporters' attention to a bed of small, light blue flowers. "Those are forget-me-nots," he said with a flash of the trademark grin. "Don't forget me now."

Vander Zalm's record proved to be an impossible political weight around the neck of his Social Credit successor, Rita Johnson. But the man who defeated Johnson in the 1991 election, NDP premier Mike Harcourt, was himself driven from office by scandal in 1996—replaced by the sharply more ideological Clark. Social Credit, fatally wounded by Vander Zalm's tenure, fell into a death spiral, sending disaffected right-of-centre voters and politicians scattering in search of new allegiances. Most found a home with Campbell's Liberals. But in the 1996 election, enough gravitated instead to the splinter Progressive Democratic Alliance (formed by an ex-Liberal) and Reform (led by an alumnus of Vander Zalm's Socreds) to hand the NDP a narrow re-election victory with only 39 per cent of the popular vote.

Now, the same prospect looms again. By taking control of Reform from hapless former leader Wilf Hanu, Vander Zalm (who is officially party president, but styles himself "de facto' leader) may have saved it from oblivion. But in doing so, he could be fragmenting right-wing voters once again. "It is going to muddle the Free Enterprise vote," says Grace McCarthy, a longtime pillar of Social Credit. "And that is alarming. Splitting the vote will just increase the chances for the return of the NDP."

The same complaint is heard within Vancouver's business community. "It's fantasyland all over again," grumbles one leading figure, adding: "It's going to ensure that Clark gets re-elected with a fraction of the popular vote again." In an effort to forestall that outcome, a number of individuals have tried to talk Vander Zalm out of his comeback. "People I know from business, from church groups, people that were previously in Social Credit that are now in Reform, are saying it," Vander Zalm admits. So why does he press on? "You do," he says rather vaguely, "what you believe has to be done."

There is another possible explanation for the disgraced politician's quixotic return. Vander Zalm's actions suggest a canny form of political greenmail aimed at securing a presence in the B.C. legislature that few believe he or his party could secure on a level playing field. Forced to run against a full slate of Liberal and NDP rivals, "I don't think Reform could elect a single candidate under Bill Vander Zalm," says independent MLA Jack Weisgerber, a former Socred cabinet minister who led Reform into the last election. But Vander Zalm has repeatedly hinted he would be willing not to run candidates against Campbell's Liberals in some ridings—in return for a clear field for his team in others. Campbell, so far, has rebuffed the offer.

One thing, though, is certain. Vander Zalm has given up none of the views that previously got him into trouble. "The premier's problem," concluded Hughes in his report on the Fantasy Gardens affair, "stems not just from his inability to draw a line between his private and public life, but in his apparently sincere belief that no conflict existed so long as the public wasn't aware of what was going on." Asked last week what he had learned from that experience, Vander Zalm said: "I made a mistake selecting someone in the bureaucracy to be judge over me. That was a real boner." He admits no other regrets. "My values,' he adds, 'haven't changed." Reason enough for the rest of British Columbia's right wing to be on edge. Vander Zalm's values paved the way for the NDP to win re-election in 1991. His renewed campaign against socialist shortcomings may do it again. □

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Bruce Wallace



A leader in the House

Greatness walked gingerly on a bad knee to the front of the House of Commons last week. Nelson Mandela, 80 years old now, took the two carpeted steps to the podium one at a time while the MPs and senators, dignitaries and those lucky enough to wangle a pass into the visitors' gallery sucked in a wonderful moment of history in the House. Rare is it that this place feels any sense of anticipation at what is to come. Rarely is it full. Mandela not only packed the House, he wrested something else from its occupants. He got them to listen.

Mandela has given loftier speeches in his life, among them his eloquent valedictory to the UN General Assembly earlier last week. But even a serviceable text by his standards has some lessons in it for our politicians. Candor, for one. He acknowledged his government has made mistakes in its infancy. He admitted the pain and imperfections in South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which grants forgiveness for those who admit to crimes committed during the apartheid years—while defending its role in putting a dirty history to rest. The old Marxist now bows to the reality of global capitalism, but reminded his audience that "in an interdependent world, rich and poor, strong and weak are bound in a common destiny that decrees that none shall enjoy lasting prosperity and stability unless others do." The MPs and senators stood and applauded, thrilling to proof that politics can be more than the art of dealmaking, vanity and posturing. They pressed forward to shake his hand as he left. Some cried. But then, seldom do they enjoy the privilege of having an actual grown-up in their midst.

> MPs seldom enjoy the privilege of having an actual grown-up like Nelson Mandela in their midst

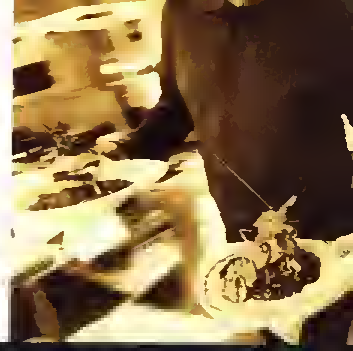
Within hours, the House had returned to business as usual. In Question Period, the quest to get sound bite on the national news resumed. NDP Leader Alexa McDonough recklessly accused the government of destroying documents relating to the APEC summit investigation, an accusation founded on hearsay evidence that her staff had made no attempt to verify. On the Liberal side, Justice Minister Anne McLellan of Edmonton could not find the courage to stand and defend Ottawa's decision to appoint a senator from Alberta despite an impending Senate election in the province. Meanwhile, partisan catcalls continued their descent into witlessness. Bloc MP Yvan Loubier's contribution to the debate was to yell "Bullshit" at Finance Minister Paul Martin while he spoke.

The Prime Minister was not in the House that afternoon, but he bears some responsibility for the shortage of ideas in the country's national debates. No one expects perfection from leaders—not even from Mandela, who has his faults and blemishes, too. But leaders set the tone for political discourse in the country, and under Jean Chretien that too often means stubbornness, a disdain for other views and an intolerance towards dissent.

Chretien's handling of the APEC summit controversy is a case in point. It took him almost a year to express any regret for the treatment of demonstrators in Vancouver last November, and the qualified apology he issued last week smacked of being extracted from a cornered man. Nor has the Prime Minister clearly explained how far he or his staff went to make sure that visiting Asian strongmen were not offended by any political protests. Instead, he dodges questions about his role while his aides continue to decry the media's pursuit of the story as mere envy for a scandal of Washington proportions.

Perhaps Chretien believes his 35 years in public life has made his reputation as a straight-talking, regular guy impervious to change. He seems willing to gamble that Canadians will not, at this stage, redefine him in their minds as arrogant or autocratic. But his predilection for squelching dissent, his angry dismissal of competing views, helps lower the level of political debate to partisan chippiness and chases away ideas.

Mandela's greatness is linked to many things: his willingness to deliver difficult truths to his own followers, an ability to rise above pettiness to see the long game, a lack of fear of other points of view. It would be nice if the politicians who were so happy to Velcro themselves to his side for photo opportunities last week would allow some of his empathy and courage to stick.





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Canada NOTES

THE SWISSAIR TRAGEDY

The search for human remains and wreckage from Swissair Flight 111 was scaled back as about 200 army personnel returned to Canadian Forces bases. Searchers, however, recovered an electronic engine control unit whose computer-chip memory may reveal data about the engines prior to the jet crashing in the Atlantic Ocean off Peggys Cove, N.S., on Sept. 2.

TAR PONDS MYSTERY

According to a Health Canada study, the mortality rate in Cape Breton County, including the area around the notorious Sydney tar ponds, was 16 per cent higher than the national average between 1951 and 1994. Researchers cautioned Nova Scotians not to jump to conclusions, saying their study is preliminary. More research is expected in the coming months, including a closer look at lethal and non-lethal cancer cases and a study of the health of newborns and their mothers.

IN SEARCH OF SILENCE

Ten male and female Carmelite hermits in southwestern Nova Scotia gave up their two-year-long battle with forestry giant J. D. Irving Ltd. The recluses, who live much of their lives in silence at their Nova Nada monastery, say they are temporarily leaving for sister houses in Colorado and Ireland to escape the noise of Irving loggers cutting timber in the woods surrounding their property.

BACK TO SCHOOL

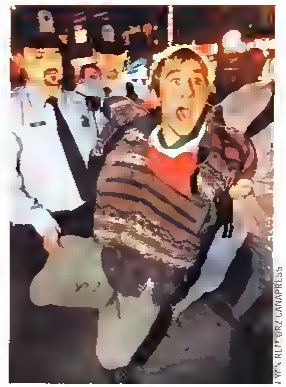
Education Minister Dave Johnson vowed to bring in back-to-work legislation to force Ontario teachers to return to class. The legislation will target eight school boards where teachers have been on strike or locked out for up to four weeks. Ontario wants teachers to spend an extra 25 minutes a day in the classroom.

ICE BABIES

Last January's ice storm, which cut power to thousands of homes in eastern Ontario and Quebec, may be about to result in a mini-baby boom. Healthcare workers in Kingston, Ont., say increasing demand has led to extra prenatal classes, while midwives are fully booked in September and October. "I just figured it out," said Pam Stuart of Childbirth Kingston. The time since the storm "coincides with their 40 weeks of pregnancy."

Quebec's growing sense of anger

Anger and resentment reverberated throughout Quebec as former Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau ridiculed Premier Lucien Bouchard's latest referendum strategy and language tensions spilled into Montreal's streets. The catalyst for Parizeau's attack was Bouchard's recent success in convincing a PQ convention to adopt a resolution freeing the party from having to hold a referendum if it is re-elected. Now Bouchard is committed to calling a vote on separation only if "winning conditions" exist. (The premier said these conditions include eliminating Quebec's deficit and a stronger economy.) Bouchard's new tactic, Parizeau argued, amounted to political suicide for the coming election, expected by next spring. "The position in the next election can't be 'Vote for us and there might be a referendum,' " Parizeau said. "Thus must absolutely be avoided because it causes confusion in public opinion."



Arresting a sovereigntist: clashes

Another confrontation, meanwhile, took place in front of the Eaton department store in downtown Montreal, where 300 supporters of the English-rights group Alliance Quebec faced off against about 50 sovereigntists. Led by hardline leader William Johnson, Alliance demonstrators called for a boycott of Eaton because of its refusal to post bilingual signs. (Under Quebec law, bilingual signs are permitted as long as French predominates.) "English is not scum," Johnson told cheering supporters. "It's not a social disease." The counterdemonstration by francophone nationalists attracted former FLQ terrorist Raymond Villeneuve and members of his group, the Mouvement de libération nationale du Quebec, some of whom hurled eggs at Johnson supporters. Police arrested one nationalist as the demonstration broke up. "William Johnson is a provocateur," Villeneuve said. "He is bringing us towards confrontation."

JUSTICE

A second chance

Citing fresh evidence, federal Justice Minister Anne McLellan ordered a new hearing at the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal for convicted murderer Clayton Johnson of Shelburne, N.S. In 1993, Johnson, 52, was found guilty of the first-degree murder of his wife, Janice Johnson, who died of multiple head wounds after a neighbor found her unconscious at the foot of her basement stairs. Crown lawyers successfully argued that Johnson bludgeoned his wife to death to collect insurance money and carry on a new relationship with another woman. But lawyers with the Association in Defence of the Wrongly Convicted say they now have forensic evidence showing that Janice Johnson fell down the stairs. "I just want to go home," Johnson said as he was supported by a daughter on each arm after being released on bail. Johnson's two daughters, Darla, 21, and Dawn 18, have stood behind him from the time of their mother's death.

The Tory gloves come off

The lethargic Conservative leadership race, marked by sleepy debates and elaborate politeness between opposing camps, developed some bite last week after two candidates' organizations were fined by the party for violating campaign rules. The camp of longtime backroom adviser Hugh Segal was fined $10,000 and Montreal lawyer Michael Fortier's organization $2,000 after their supporters wore campaign T-shirts, scarves and hats at a Drummondville, Que., debate. Segal organizers accused Joe Clark supporters of turning them in to party officials—who in turn, they claimed, were ignoring rules infractions by the former prime minister's people. Segal advisers said the Clark campaign had missed a deadline for filing financial information but received no penalty. "How about a level playing field here?" one complained.

The increasing tension among Tory opponents surfaced just before a crucial date in the race. The five candidates—Saskatchewan anti-free-trade crusader David Orchard and former Manitoba cabinet minister Brian Pallister are also running—had until Sept. 25 to sell $10 party memberships to potential supporters. All members are eligible to cast a ballot on Oct. 24. Orchard's success—recruiting an estimated 7,000 new members to a party that had only 23,000 paid-up supporters in July—has rattled the campaigns of the more prominent candidates.

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Seeking a way out



ANDREW PHILLIPS
IN WASHINGTON

With a boost in the polls, Clinton tries to head off impeachment

I know I can't be with you
I do what I have to do
And I have sense to recognize but
I don't know how to let you go

—Sarah McLachlan, *Do What You Have to Do*

Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky, it turns out, had more in common than their mutual fondness for so-called intimate contact in the now-infamous little hallway adjacent to the Oval Office. Last Nov. 13, Lewinsky visited the President in his private study off the hallway. She offered him her customary service—oral sex—but he declined. Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo was visiting, and Clinton had to rush off to a state dinner. But as she waited for her on-again, off-again lover, Lewinsky noticed what she took to be another bond between them. He had Sarah McLachlan's latest CD, *Surfacing*, and so did she. Lewinsky found the fifth cut, *Do What You Have to Do*, particularly poignant. "Whenever I listen to song #5, I think of you," she wrote in a note to Clinton. Kenneth Starr, the special prosecutor who has turned the Clinton-Lewinsky coupling into the most acute political crisis in the United States in a generation, is nothing if not a methodical man. So it is not surprising that buried in the massive evidence gathered by Starr's office and made public last week by the U.S. House of Representatives are the complete lyrics from *Surfacing*, including the words that Lewinsky found so moving.

There was more—much, much more. A wrist-straining total of 3,183 pages of testimony, transcripts, notes, letters, e-mail, charts, telephone logs and photographs—more information, perhaps, than has been gathered about any sexual relationship in history. Thanks to Starr's diligent researchers, Americans could read scrawled notes revealing that early on the morning of July 19, 1996, Clinton had so-called phone sex with Lewinsky and exclaimed "Well, good morning!" at the climactic moment. They could read Lewinsky's increasingly frantic notes to Clinton as he tried to end their relationship ("I need you right now not as a president, but as a man. PLEASE be my friend"). And they could ponder the significance of what Starr's prosecutors gravely referred to as "the Vancouver bear"—a marble carving of a bear's head that Clinton bought during a summit meeting there and gave to Lewinsky three days after Christmas of 1997. Deep into Lewinsky's testimony before Starr's grand jury, the documents show, they questioned her about the gift.

Q. When the President gave you the Vancouver bear on the 28th, did he say anything about what it means?

A. I believe he said that the bear is the Indian symbol for strength, just you know, and to be strong like a bear.

Q. And did you interpret that as be strong in your decision to continue to conceal the relationship?

A. No.



Gingrich and the President at a function last week: targeting the Speaker as the bad guy

Americans could also judge their president as he gave what may turn out to be the performance of his political life—four hours and 14 minutes of videotaped testimony in which he gave his version of events to the grand jury. The testimony, broadcast live on television, showed Clinton alternately contrite, combative and cunning. "I'd give anything in the world not to have to admit what I've had to admit today," he said sorrowfully as he finally owned up to what he had denied for months—"inappropriate intimate contact" with the onetime White House intern. He insisted that he had not lied in an earlier sworn statement when he denied having "sexual relations" with Lewinsky, on the grounds that repeated bouts of oral sex did not fall under the definition he was given. He spoke kindly of Lewinsky as "basically a good girl," and lashed out at the political enemies he said were behind attempts to expose his private life. "They just thought they would take a wrecking ball to me and see if they could do some damage."

It was a clever, agile performance—made all the more effective by erroneous advance reports that Clinton would at one point explode in anger at the painfully personal questions and storm out of the White House Map Room, where Starr's team interrogated him on Aug. 17. Instead, he maintained control, knowing full well that the session was being taped and would in all likelihood eventually be made public. A close reading of his words shows a man bobbing and weaving to avoid at almost any cost admitting that he had lied—such as claiming that he had not really been alone with the woman with whom he had 10 sexual encounters, according to his definition of "alone." That paralleled his tortuous, often graphically phrased locutions on the topic of what constituted sex—such as whether the "deponent" (meaning himself, when he gave a deposition) was the one performing or receiving oral sex. But most Americans, it turned out, came away with the impression of a man defending himself as best he could from a humiliating inquisition into his sex life.

Clinton is famous for his comebacks—starting when he was thrown out by voters as governor of Arkansas after a single term in 1980, then worked relentlessly to win back the office. Public reaction to the unprecedented spectacle of a president cross-examined on television and the massive release of documents suggested that he may be engineering the biggest comeback of all. Starr's unvarnished 445-page report might not have convinced voters that the President was liable for impeachment on 11 counts of perjury, obstructing justice and tampering with witnesses, as the independent counsel argued. But actually seeing Clinton defending his deceit and evasions on camera, went the logic, would surely change minds. Indeed it did, but not in the way that the President's opponents, and most of the media, had confidently predicted.

Clinton's job-approval rating jumped yet again—to 60 per cent in an ABC poll, 66 per cent on CNN and 68 per cent in a CBS survey. Most disheartening for his opponents, a poll by *The New York Times* found the beginnings of a backlash against Starr. Republicans in Congress and the House judiciary committee, which is considering whether to hold a formal impeachment inquiry into the President's conduct. The Republicans who control the committee decided to make public Clinton's video testimony, and the thousands of pages of documents supporting Starr's report, in the face of Democratic objections that it would not be fair to the President.

The *Times* poll found that most voters, faced with the enormous document dump, turned their annoyance against the people pushing the material out. Most said they disapprove of the way the committee is handling the affair; three-quarters did not think it was necessary to make the video public, and 43 per cent said Congress should drop the whole Lewinsky matter, compared with only 27 per cent who want impeachment hearings and 26 per cent who want the President censured by Congress. And Starr was damaged when the White House pointed out that his voluminous report did not include Lewinsky's statement to the grand jury that "no one

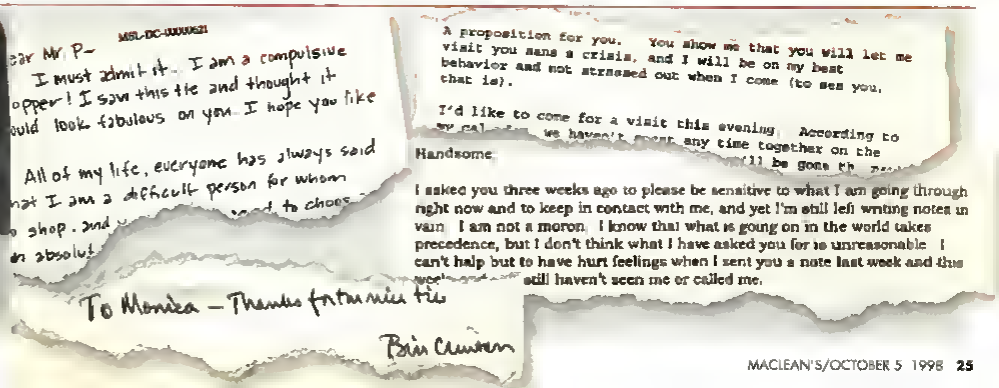
WHITE HOUSE MEMORIES







Clinton testifies on video (left); with Lewinsky at a Christmas party, 1996; her notorious dress; notes the two exchanged: a massive release of evidence



ever asked me to lie, and I was never promised a job for my silence."

The news was not all good for Clinton. The gap between Americans' evaluation of his job performance and their judgment of him as an individual has never been wider. Another survey by independent pollster John Zogby found that half the voters are ashamed that he is president, while only 34 per cent are proud. But Americans have apparently concluded that what they want is an effective manager, not a moral role model. "The public isn't ready for impeachment, and any quick movement towards that will backfire," Zogby said in an interview. In fact, Republicans are set to press forward. Early next week—on Oct. 5 or 6—the House judiciary committee will vote on whether to go ahead with a formal impeachment inquiry. With Republicans holding two-thirds of the seats, that is considered a near certainty. Then, the full House will vote by Oct. 9—and again, the Republican majority is expected to support an inquiry. That means Americans will vote in midterm elections on Nov. 3 with the Lewinsky affair still hanging over them.

If the Democrats suffer major losses then, the party could turn against Clinton. But last week, they were clearly buoyed by the polls. Democrats who only a few days earlier were talking of Clinton's resignation suddenly stopped. A congressional aide, who had said a week earlier that dozens of Democratic congressmen privately wanted the President to quit, confided that many had changed their minds. "They're probably glad they didn't go public last week," he said. And Albert Wynn, a Maryland Democrat and strong Clinton supporter, said the scandal is "losing its legs."

Clinton himself was energized. Asked by a reporter if he sees "any way out of an impeachment inquiry," he reprised the finger-wagging he made famous in January when he flatly denied having "sexual relations with that woman—Ms. Lewinsky." He recited his agenda of saving social security and increasing funding for education, and said "the people in Washington" should focus on those issues, not on Lewinsky. Hillary Clinton aggressively returned to her husband's defence, phoning some Democratic congressmen to argue that his failings do not warrant impeachment and campaigning for Democrats in five states last week. As the party's most popular national figure now, she stuck the knife into Congress whenever she could. In Seattle, she told a cheering Democratic audience that the Republicans were "doing stuff that doesn't amount to a hill of beans in the long term future of America." Even at a stop in Sheridan, Colo., where she toured a 75-year-old elementary school, she managed to blame Congress for dividing the nation and ignoring important issues such as education.

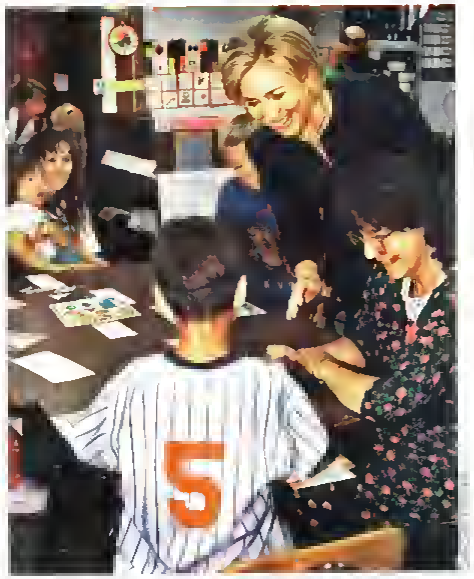
At the same time, the White House let it be known that the President is ready to accept some form of punishment short of removal from office—likely a censure by Congress combined with a financial penalty. Republicans dismiss that as meaningless, as well as premature. "For anybody to talk about doing anything before we finish the investigative process simply puts the cart before the horse," said House Speaker Newt Gingrich. But censure gives Democrats something to unite around that would also satisfy the public's need to see Clinton chastised. Increasingly, they are targeting the high-profile Gingrich as the Republican bad guy standing in the way. White House spokesman Mike McCurry said the Speaker would bear the blame for a process that could "drag on and on and on endlessly."

Almost lost in the political crossfire were the new details about the relationship between Lewinsky and Clinton contained in the documents made public last week. She spent two days before the grand jury, telling her story in exhaustive detail. She was clearly obsessed with the President, calling him her "sexual soul mate," and saying: "He always made me smile when I was with him. He was sunshine. . . . I just thought he was just this incredible person and when I looked at him I saw a little boy."

The documents show that Starr's investigators gathered massive amounts of evidence to corroborate Lewinsky's story—helped by her practice of methodically recording every contact she had with the President, in person, by phone or by letter. There are notes from her to Clinton, including one from June, 1997, which begins "Dear Handsome" but quickly reveals her feelings about being pushed away. "I feel disposable, used and insignificant." Another, written on her computer, reads, "bill, i loved you with all of my heart. i wanted to be with you all of the time." And later, in November, 1997, as Clinton continues to keep her away: "I believe the time has finally come for me to throw in the towel. . . . I can't take it any more." She did manage to see him again several more times, though, to enlist his help in getting a job in New York City and, finally, to collect the "Vancouver bear" and a bagful of other Christmas presents.

For him, the relationship may have started as a titillating diversion from weightier matters, then turned into a potentially dangerous entanglement. For her it was clearly the most important thing in the world. She remembered virtually everything, and helped Starr's team construct an 11-page chart setting out every contact between her and the President. The detail is overwhelming, and it did not stop with last week's release. This week, the judiciary committee is set to make public yet more documents. When Starr sent his report to Capitol Hill on Sept. 9, he delivered 18 boxes of material. Last week's documents came from just two of the containers. The other 16 contain tens of thousands more pages of transcripts—including the grand jury testimony of Clinton's secretary, Betty Currie, and his friend Vernon Jordan, who helped Lewinsky with her job search. There are also audiotapes of Lewinsky's calls made by her former friend Linda Tripp, which are due to be released in edited form. For Americans, it is likely to be way too much information about a matter most just want to forget. □

Hillary Clinton aggressively came to her husband's defence



At the school in Sheridan, sticking the knife into Congress



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The Watergate generation

BY ANDREW PHILLIPS

Quick—which up-and-coming young American politico said: "It's plain that the president should resign and spare the country the agony of this impeachment and removal proceeding"? Was it the same one who said flatly that there is "no question that an admission of making false statements to government officials is an unpeachable offence"? And could it be the very same one who said: "This country has suffered so long. There's not any point now in his putting the country through an impeachment since he isn't making any pretense of innocence now"?

Yes, Bill Clinton said all that and more about president Richard Nixon during the last great impeachment battle in the United States, Watergate. It was the summer of 1974 and the brash young law professor, not quite 28, was running for office for the first time. For a newcomer, he aimed high—a seat in the House of Representatives. It was a long shot, but the Watergate scandal had embarrassed all Republicans and Clinton hoped he could use it to defeat a well-entrenched Republican congressman in Arkansas's third congressional district. He railed against corruption, lying in the White House, abuse of power at the highest levels. He almost made it. He won 48.5 per cent of the vote, and was instantly tagged as the boy wonder of Arkansas politics.

The Clintons' legal woes can be traced back to the scandal they cut their career teeth on



ARCHIVE PHOTOS

Senate Watergate hearings, 1973: not just a political battle, but a moral crusade

Watergate gave Hillary Rodham her start, as well. Fresh out of Yale Law School, she was hired as a staff lawyer for the House committee investigating the scandal. When she began work in January, 1974, she was just 26, but was given the awesome power to delve into possible crimes by the president of the United States. Rodham helped to compile a history of presidential abuse of power, and analyzed the origin of impeachment in English law. She became known as one of the most radical lawyers on the staff, determined at all cost to root out wrongdoing at the top. One day that summer, shortly before Nixon resigned, she brought her boyfriend to the committee's offices in a run-down Washington hotel. He was Bill Clinton.

It is no surprise that Watergate marked Bill and Hillary Clinton so profoundly. After Vietnam, it was the most important event shaping the political outlook of the boomer generation. And it wasn't just a scandal—it was *the* scandal, the one that set the standard by which all subsequent political implosions have been measured. In his biography of the First Lady, *The Seduction of Hillary Rodham*, David Brock writes that "for Bill and Hillary's generation, Watergate was not just an unprecedented legal and political battle, but a moral crusade." So Bill Clinton's enemies delight in rolling out his old quotes from 1974 and throwing them back in his face. Isn't it ironic, they say, that the president Slick Willy has turned out to resemble most is old Tricky Dick, the demon of his youth?

Comparisons between Watergate and the Monica Lewinsky affair are enticing. Both began with seemingly trivial offences, the legendary "third-rate burglary" at the Watergate complex, and Clinton's intensely odd liaison with the intern. Both turned serious because people with power tried to cover them up. There was lying both times, and the president used his power to conceal wrongdoing. The parallel falls flat, though, as soon as the substance of their sins is compared. Nixon was truly scary: he corrupted the security agencies of the United States to target his political enemies. Clinton is merely tacky. In fact, his very tawdriness may well save him. Should we really exercise the awesome mechanism of impeachment, Americans are asking themselves, for *this*?

But there is a more direct link between the scandals of the Seventies and those of today. The Watergate generation, Bill and Hillary and all the other idealistic young folk of their time, demanded that such abuse never be permitted again. They remembered the so-called Saturday Night Massacre of 1973, when Nixon abruptly fired the special prosecutor investigating him. So, in 1978, Congress passed the Ethics in Government Act, which among other things created the post of independent counsel to investigate high political officials. Counsels cannot be fired by the person they are investigating; once their inquiry begins they have nearly unlimited time and money to pursue their quarry. The law reflects the post-Watergate attitude: government, especially people at the top, can't be trusted.

Since then, independent counsels have mainly tormented Republican presidents, most notably Ronald Reagan over the Iran-contra fiasco. But the president who has suffered most at their hands is, of course, the onetime scourge of presidential lying, Bill Clinton—who, according to *The New York Times*, even told associates that the pressure of Kenneth Starr's four-year trawl through his personal life was partly responsible for driving him into Lewinsky's arms. Clinton's defenders may scoff at comparisons between him and Nixon. But he would have been well advised to reflect on the old man's rueful judgment of how his enemies finally got him. "I brought myself down," Nixon said in 1977. "I gave 'em a sword. And they stuck it in." □

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Searching for belongings in destroyed homes in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: five-day ra...

The wrath of Georges

A killer hurricane hits the Caribbean and Florida

In the squalid Haitian slum of Cité Soleil, the rains of Hurricane Georges left nearly 200,000 people trudging knee-deep in muddy water. In the Dominican Republic, 90 per cent of food crops were feared destroyed. In Florida, shelters were full as 1.2 million people from Key West to Tampa were ordered from their homes. "It looks like Noah's Ark in here," said Vince Toporowski, watching churning ocean water surge past his home north of Key West.

The giant hurricane—nearly 500 km wide—unleashed 160 km/h winds across the Caribbean during a five-day rampage that killed more than 300 people. Hardest hit was the impoverished island of Hispaniola, which Haiti and the Dominican Republic share. More than 180 people died on the Dominican side, at least 87 in Haiti. The storm raged on through Cuba—leaving 500,000 temporarily homeless—as well as St. Kitts, Antigua and Puerto Rico before striking the Florida Keys. The storm was the biggest to hit Florida since Hurricane Andrew in 1992, which caused $30 billion in damage.



CO... REUTERS/HO...



AP/... HO...

Winds whip Hollywood, Fla., despair in Haiti's Cite Soleil (below), like 'Noah's Ark'

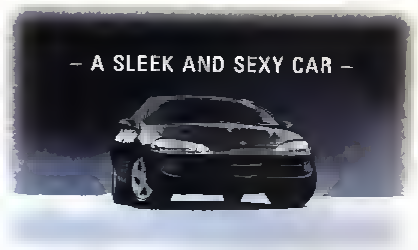




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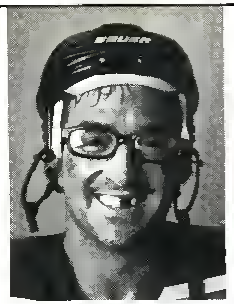
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Reformer behind bars

Mahathir levels sex charges at his onetime heir



Anwar and wife Azizah at a rally on the day of his arrest: allegations of sedition and sodomy

The house had become a magnet for Malaysians angered by the sudden sacking of its owner, ex-deputy prime minister Anwar Ibrahim. Each day, thousands flocked to the two-storey stucco home in an affluent Kuala Lumpur neighborhood to hear Anwar denounce his former boss and mentor, long-ruling Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, and the allegations of sexual misdeeds Mahathir had levelled against him. They punched their fists in the air as Anwar led them in chants of "*Reformasi*"—reform—echoing the opposition battle cry in neighboring Indonesia. University students who had signed up as volunteers at the two-week-long Commonwealth Games instead used the time to sweep the house clean and unstack red-and-white plastic chairs in neat rows for visitors to watch Anwar's speeches on video. "He's our leading light," said 22-year-old Mashar Ibrahim, sporting a crew cut and a freshly scrubbed Islamic white shirt. "We're prepared to suffer with him through the end."



Mahathir: 'dictator'

So it was fitting that, on one of the most dramatic days in Malaysia's history, the end of Anwar's freedom came as he sat with his wife on the back porch of the house, talking to the news media. A dozen police clad in black balaclavas and flak jackets and wielding assault weapons burst through the front door. People screamed, veiled women began wailing "May Allah prevail" and hundreds of supporters jammed the front door in a bid to delay his arrest. Outside, more than 50 soldiers armed with shields and thick poles stood in rows keeping a chanting crowd at bay. Finally, after being allowed a last hour closeted with his family and lawyers, Anwar was escorted out the front door to cries of "*Reformasi*" and "God is great."

The arrest followed an unprecedented rally of some 35,000 people in the capital's central Freedom Square, the site of the former Malaya's declaration of independence from Britain in 1957 and not far from where Mahathir was hosting the Queen as she prepared to close the Games the next day. There Anwar had led the crowd in demanding the resignation of the former physician who has led the country since 1981, calling him stupid and senile. "We have given Dr. Mahathir enough time," Anwar shouted over the public address system. "Enough is enough."

It was for Mahathir. The day after Anwar's arrest, the government announced he was being held under the draconian Internal Security Act, which permits indefinite detention without trial. Later, authorities said he would be put on open trial on sexual charges, including adultery and homosexuality, which is illegal in Malaysia. "I cannot



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accept a man who is a sodomist to become the leader of this country," said Mahathir.

How had it come to this? For years, Anwar, 51, had been the 72-year-old prime minister's right-hand man and chosen successor. Mahathir himself had recruited him in 1982 to join the dominant United Malays National Organization, which rules the country in coalition with Chinese and Indian based parties, after Anwar had carved out a career as the outspoken leader of a Muslim youth movement. Anwar quickly rose through the cabinet ranks, becoming finance minister in 1991 and adding the deputy title in 1993. The country of 22 million, meanwhile, was among the most successful in riding Southeast Asia's boom, boasting growth rates of eight per cent.

Then came Asia's crash last year. Malaysia's currency plunged, and Mahathir famously accused international traders such as billionaire George Soros of deliberately undermining the country. As recession loomed, Mahathir became increasingly unhappy with Anwar's pro-Western financial views. The issue came to a head when the finance minister resisted Mahathir's controversial move to fix the exchange rate and impose capital controls. On Sept. 2, Mahathir sacked him.

Anwar responded with a series of unauthorized rallies around the country that drew thousands. Officials, meanwhile, announced that Anwar was under investigation for sedition, treason and sexual offences that his supporters saw as a bid to undermine his backing among conservative Muslims. At his news conference, Mahathir said he had personally interviewed men and women Anwar had sex with. Anwar strenuously denied the charges and accused Mahathir of trying to cover up massive corruption. Anwar's wife, Azizah Ismail, an ophthalmologist with whom he has five daughters and a son, supported him fiercely. After his arrest, she took up his leadership mantle, expressing fears that authorities might inject her imprisoned husband with the AIDS virus to back up their claims.

As authorities arrested several of Anwar's supporters and cracked down on rallies, Mahathir said sarcastically: "It has been spread across the world that I am a dictator." Yet despite his renewed burst of authoritarianism, many analysts cautioned against drawing too tight a parallel between Mahathir and Indonesia's deposed strongman, Suharto. "In Indonesia, the empty stomachs caused the revolution," said Roslin Hashim, a university lecturer who attended one of Anwar's illegal road shows in the rural heartland. "But here, the Malays still have their bowl of rice, a sarong to wear, a car and house." Mahathir, who has disposed of deputies before, is betting that with Anwar behind bars, calls for *reformasi* will slowly fade away. This time, though, history may not be on his side.

BERTON WOODWARD
with ALVIN UNG in Kuala Lumpur

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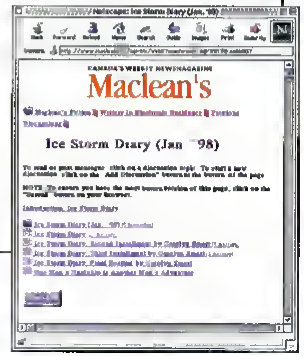
Ice Storm Diary

"We were lucky, really: our power was only out for three days, but in the country that means no heat, no light and no water, as our pump is operated by electricity. The flicker of overhead lights usually means we will once again feel like hostages to hydro, but never before has the land itself been so ravaged by weather. Trees are pale spears against the winter sky; we joke that we have wood to burn for 20 years if we could just get outside to collect it. It is -16° C today and many people I know are sheltering their friends who are still without power."

"In the country, people pull together like nowhere else I've lived. It cheers me to see the handwritten sign in the IGA: the offer of a warm place to take the chill off with a bowl of stew, to stand with others and laugh about 'the storm of '98' and the stories we'll tell our grandchildren of how we learned to live like our own great-grandparents, how we learned to cook on the woodstove, how all of us (two adults, three children, two dogs, one rabbit and some goldfish) stayed in one room and kept each other warm."

"Some people even said they were sad when the lights went on, but they were grateful to have at least been warm and fed. There are many stories to be told—there are tales of frustration and anger and love, and all have a place in this forum." (*In fact, the site received hundreds of similar tales from eastern Ontario and Quebec.*)

—Poet Carolyn Smart,
Sydenham, Ont.



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This Week

Education reform by K.

"I have no doubt that reforms are needed, but the cuts have gone too far too fast. How can the Ontario government expect its people to believe that after more than $600 million in cuts proper schooling can still be achieved. I'm a student in the public system, and I can tell you that the textbooks in use are obsolete. Ninth-grade geography texts still list the Soviet Union as a country."

Canadian military by J

"You get what you pay for: if the Canadian people want to be represented by people who make them proud both at home and abroad, then they have to start paying decent wages and providing proper equipment and housing. The military in our society have got to be held in respect instead of the current climate of ridicule."

MPs' pay raise by D R.

"I grow ever so weary of hearing politicians compare themselves to corporate-sector executives and, now, politicians in other countries. If you want the salary of a corporate executive, or of a Japanese or German or American politician, then get a job as one. Everyone running for public office should be fully aware of the compensation package, and be prepared to live on that."



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ULTIMATUM ON KOSOVO

NATO warned Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to stop a campaign against ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo, or face air strikes. Germany called for a deadline of about a week, but Belgrade insisted it would not withdraw its forces from the war-torn area. The seven-month attempt to crush the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army has forced nearly 300,000 people from their homes.

RESIGNATION IN RUSSIA

Russia's new government was pitched into turmoil as Deputy Prime Minister Alexander Shokhin quit when Mikhail Zadornov was renamed finance minister. Shokhin, the top economic official, said Zadornov had lost credibility with foreign lenders. Although a strong free-market advocate, Zadornov was part of the team that devalued the ruble and effectively defaulted on foreign loans.

A PUSH FOR PEACE

U.S. President Bill Clinton planned to meet both Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Palestinian President Yasser Arafat as Washington stepped up efforts to spur the stalled peace process. At the United Nations this week, Arafat was expected to announce his intention to declare a Palestinian state next May.

REES-JONES FILES SUIT

The sole survivor of the Paris car crash that killed Diana, Princess of Wales, filed a suit for "endangering the lives of others" against the Ritz Hotel and a limousine company that owned the Mercedes involved in the accident. Bodyguard Trevor Rees-Jones says the Ritz—owned by Mohamed Al Fayed, father of Diana's boyfriend Dodi—failed to provide a properly licensed chauffeur. The driver was hotel security chief Henri Paul, who was legally drunk at the time.

A BRONZE GAMES

Canada finished third at the Commonwealth Games in Kuala Lumpur, led by gymnast Erika-Leigh Stirton, 18, who won five gold medals and one silver. Precocious 13-year-old diver Alexandre Despatie captured the tower event, while swimmer Joanne Malar, 21, won five medals, including gold in the gruelling 400-m individual medley. Australia led the Games with 199 medals, England took 136 and Canada 99.



CHAOS IN LESOTHO: A Botswanan soldier watches looters run from a store in Lesotho's capital, Maseru, after South Africa led an incursion into the mountainous kingdom it surrounds. Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili had appealed to the two neighbors to help quell an army mutiny. Once the operation began, the conflict escalated into a three-day urban war pitting Mosisili supporters against troops and opposition parties who claimed May elections were rigged. By the time calm returned, at least 66 people had died, including eight South African soldiers.

Iran ends Rushdie's nightmare

British author Salman Rushdie reacted with relief to news that nearly a decade of hiding from an Iranian Islamic edict calling for his assassination had ended. "It's over. It's done," the Indian-born novelist said. "It's like being told the cancer is gone. Well, the cancer's gone." After meeting British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook at the United Nations, Iranian Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi said his government had "no intention, nor is it going to take any action whatsoever to threaten the life of the author of *The Satanic Verses*." That was as far as Tehran could officially go in renouncing the religious *fatwa* issued in 1989 by Ayatollah Khomeini, who deemed Rushdie's novel blasphemous. Iranian officials say only Khomeini, who died two months later, could have formally withdrawn the measure.

Cook said the two countries would immediately exchange ambassadors, withdrawn in 1987. The deal on Rushdie, he added, came after Britain said it "understood and regretted the offence the book *The Satanic Verses* has caused to Muslims in Iran and elsewhere in the world." Iranian President Mohammed Khatami has adopted a moderate stance in an apparent effort to improve relations with the West, although he is still engaged in a power struggle with conservative clerics. And an Iranian foundation had yet to rescind its offer of a $3.8-million bounty to anyone who kills Rushdie. Kharrazi, however, said his government "dissociates itself from any reward" and would not support it.

India and Pakistan vow to stop nuclear tests

India and Pakistan both announced they will sign a global nuclear test ban treaty within a year. In a speech to the United Nations, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said his country had obtained all the information it needed from five nuclear detonations last May. Those tests prompted Pakistan to set off its first nuclear tests two weeks later. Both Pakistan and India have linked their pledges to a lifting of sanctions that the United States imposed after the tit-for-tat tests. But U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said more must be done to curb the nuclear and ballistic missile buildup in South Asia before sanctions could be lifted.


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Talk more, pay less

Canadians delight in low long-distance rates

BY JOHN SCHOFIELD

Across the country, the length of an average call for flat-rate subscribers has zoomed—from **five minutes** to almost **half an hour**



RICK CHARD FOR MACLEAN'S

Ahlers: as competition forces rates down, she can stay in touch with friends and call home more often

Merle Smith wondered what the heck was happening. When the spry 75-year-old reached for his phone to make a local call one evening last month, the dial tone had mysteriously disappeared. In the days that followed, the telephone went on the fritz for as long as four hours at a time. Some folks might have blamed aliens. This, after all, was Vulcan, Alta., home of the annual Spock Days rodeo and Star Trek convention. The problem, though, turned out to be a lot closer to earth. Smith, a retired farmer, and his wife, Betty, 68, had been bushwhacked by a legion of loquacious Albertans taking advantage of the provincial phone company's $20-a-month, unlimited long-distance offer. The plan, introduced in July by most of Canada's long-distance carriers, has proven so popular that lines have been overloaded and calls have been stalled. "Everybody can gab as long as they want," complains Smith. "For a while, there was no way you could get through. If there had been an emergency, you're dead."

Caught off guard by the cross-Canada chat fest, phone companies are scrambling to expand their networks and remove the bottlenecks. And experts say Canada's ever-escalating phone wars could force prices even lower. Consumers could not be happier: according to some informal estimates, the length of an average call for flat-rate subscribers zoomed from five minutes to almost half an hour shortly after Sprint Canada introduced the first flat service in July. And even though revenue from long-distance calls is being carved up between more companies, it's not all bad news for the major telephone companies. Overall industry operating revenues, including those generated from local services, have jumped to $23.6 billion in 1997 from $15.9 billion in 1991. Still, company executives complain that nobody is making money on long distance any more. In fact, many analysts claim the whole concept of long distance is dead and will soon amount to a mere blip on monthly phone bills. "If this pricing holds, it marks something really quite revolutionary," says Ian Angus, a Toronto-based telecommunications consultant. "It means the disappearance of the difference between local and long-distance calls."

Gone are the days when callers watched their kitchen clocks as some long winded relative from halfway across the country rambled on. Since signing up with Bell Canada's flat-rate offer, Toronto lawyer Janet Mills has been phoning her mother in Winnipeg almost every evening, compared with twice a month before the offer was introduced. The conversations are typically longer, too, says the 34-year-old Mills. "I don't even think about the cost any more," she adds. "I don't give it a second thought."

The all-you-can-talk plans, which are now available in most parts of Canada, apply only to calls within the country on weekends and evenings after 6 p.m., when an estimated 75 per cent of all residential long-distance calls are made. Angus says consumers, who in some cases are automatically enrolled in the plans by their phone company, are flocking to the deals in droves because at the end of the month they know exactly how much they will pay. That is a boon for people on a tight budget. Andrea Ahlers, a student at Ontario's University of Waterloo, says she and her housemates dropped their old carrier, London Telecom Inc., and signed up with Bell Canada's flat-rate plan when they returned to school last month. "Last year, we were getting phone bills and we had no idea how much it was going to cost," says Ahlers, a 20-year-old Torontonian who estimates she has tripled the number of calls she makes each week. "Now, I just pick up the phone and call whenever I feel like it."

So many customers have signed up for the deals that in Newfoundland alone, the peak load on the province's telephone system has shifted to 10:30 p.m. from about 10:30 a.m., says Harry Connors, a spokesman for the province's main phone company, NewTel. Although analysts and executives with rival firms dispute the claim, Bell Canada, which serves Ontario and Quebec, says it has been able to handle the extra load. Companies in other provinces were not as lucky, with customers in British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland all suffering long delays. Callers trying to phone out or in were met with silence, fast busy signals or recordings telling them to try again later. "We've had a severe problem with loads as heavy as Christmas and Mother's Day," says Kevin Noel, a spokesman for BC Tel. "We're working to get additional capacity on the network."

In Alberta, an army of 200 technicians was still fanned out across the province last week, installing new wires and switches. Workers in Newfoundland have been forced to install thousands of new circuits in the past six weeks, expanding the island's phone network by 20 per cent, says NewTel's Connors. The telephone companies spend about $1 billion annually to maintain their networks, and analysts say those costs will increase as more people sign on to the programs. At Alberta's Telus, for example, only 150,000 customers have signed up for the Your Way Unlimited flat-rate plan, but at the current rate about 25,000 more are being added every week.

While consumers are stampeding to the discount programs, the savings do come with a catch. Until 1993, federal regulations required phone companies to use part of their long-distance revenues to subsidize local services, which they complained was often being provided below cost. But to help offset plunging long-distance rates and encourage competition in the $8-billion-a-year local phone sector, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission has allowed monthly rates for basic local service to rise over the past three years by $7 a month. And Local rates will continue to rise by at least the annual rate of inflation until 2001.

Even so, long-distance prices have fallen faster than anyone imagined. A study last year commissioned by Toronto-based Call-Net Enterprises Inc., the parent company of Sprint Canada, found that the price of an average long distance call dropped from 21.5 cents a minute in 1995 to an estimated 17 cents in 1998—and that was before the new flat-rate programs kicked in. Without competition, the study says, the cost would have been 48 cents. And after climbing steadily for decades, long-distance earnings for Bell Canada and the regional phone companies, but not including new competitors like Sprint Canada or AT&T, dropped to $5.1 billion in 1996 from $7.2 billion in 1990.

Now, flat-rate calling promises to squeeze long-distance profits even further. That is because for every minute of long-distance time logged by Canadians, companies such as Bell Canada and Telus must contribute up to two cents towards the upkeep of local phone networks. With flat-rate subscribers chatting to their heart's content, that amount, which totalled $820 million last year, will certainly rise.

Late last month, a coalition of four phone companies—Toronto-based AT&T Long Distance Services, London Telecom, ACC TelEnterprises Ltd. of Toronto and Call-Net Enterprises Inc.—appealed to the CRTC to change the contribution from a per-minute charge to a percentage of total annual revenues. If their plea falls on deaf ears, the economics of long distance can only get worse. "Nobody is making any money on long distance right now," says Roy Osing, senior vice-president of marketing for BC Tel. "I think prices will stay at this level for a while."

That may be wishful thinking. Rates will likely continue their slide as new competitors enter the market. In August, for instance, Toronto-based Netcom Canada started buying long-distance time from a major long-distance carrier, which it refuses to name. Netcom then sells it at a cut rate, including 12.5 cents a minute to the United States at any time. And it does not stop there. In the brave new world of telecommunications convergence, mainline long-distance companies will soon face new competition from cable TV companies and hydroelectric utilities that plan to use their networks to deliver both long-distance and local signals.

The battle for long-distance revenues, says Angus, is also expected to bring down the cost of international phone calls—both on wireless and traditional phone networks. Last week, Rogers Cantel, a unit of Rogers Communications Inc., which owns *Maclean's*, announced rates as low as 20 cents a minute for cellular telephone calls made anywhere in Canada and the United States. As well, Teleglobe Canada, the sole carrier of Canadian overseas calls, officially lost its monopoly on Oct. 1 to deliver international calls. As new competitors enter Teleglobe's market, prices on overseas calls will come down.

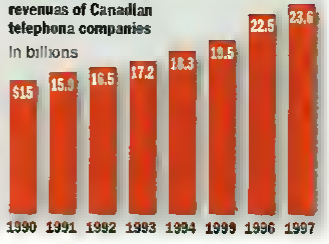
Telephone companies are moving aggressively into other areas. Some are offering one-price communications packages that include such services as local, long-distance and mobile phone use, along with cable TV and Internet access. As the battle progresses, some companies could fall by the wayside or merge with rivals. And in July, Call-Net may have triggered a wave of consolidation in the industry, with its $1.8-billion takeover of Montreal-based Fonorola Inc. "We're in a whole new world," says NewTel's Connors. And it's giving phone companies and their customers a lot to talk about.

With TOM FENNELL in Toronto

DIALLING FOR DOLLARS

Total annual operating revenues of Canadian telephone companies

In billions



SOURCE: INDUSTRY CANADA

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Deirdre McMurdy



Hedging their bets

Every full-blown market crisis seems to require an official scapegoat. In 1992 and 1994, respectively, when European currencies were shaken and the Mexican peso collapsed, much of the blame was assigned to predatory gangs of 25-year-old money traders wearing red suspenders. When London-based Barings bank and Daiwa Bank of Osaka imploded, reckless derivatives traders took their place as alleged agents of upheaval. Now, as global markets swoon again, hedge fund managers have emerged as the latest villains of choice.

During the bull market, "hedgies" like George Soros made splashy reputations and billions of dollars by placing speculative bets on the direction of global financial instruments, ranging from stocks and bonds to currencies. Now, those who advocate the imposition of controls on international capital flows increasingly blame hedgies for destabilizing fragile national economies and exacerbating recent market turmoil. Malaysia's prime minister, Mahathir Mohammad, has called hedge fund managers "the highwaymen of the global economy." Because hedge funds are structured as limited partnerships—geared to institutions and wealthy individuals—they are not regulated by securities watchdogs. Furthermore, while conventional mutual funds are constrained by the mandate of a formal prospectus, hedgies are free to sell stocks short, to dabble in merchant banking and arbitrage. That flexible structure—along with a rich slice of any profits—has led to a hedge fund boom: there are now an estimated 4,000 hedge funds in the United States managing over $500 billion—more than double the number and three times the assets of just two years ago.

> The mysterious hedge fund operators prowl the markets searching for mega-profits

Still, in the Canadian climate, hedgies remain relatively rare. According to Dan Richards of Marketing Solutions, a fund industry consultancy, Canadians shy away from the risk, volatility and large capital commitments associated with them. "Canadian money is older, more conservative, less entrepreneurial," says Richards. "It's partly a cultural factor."

But that cautious culture is absent in the Toronto office of one of Canada's few hedge funds: Enterprise Capital Management Inc. With $200 million raised from institutions and a handful of individuals, three partners started the firm just over a year ago. Jim Doak was previously a proprietary trader and analyst with ScotiaMcLeod Inc. Jim MacDonald was head of the firm's merger and acquisition department, and David Smith was formerly with Richardson Greenshields of Canada Ltd.

Initially, they squatted in a dingy office, but now, having expanded their ranks to seven, Enterprise occupies a space that clearly reflects its recent success. The walls are painted the color of peanut brittle, there are glittering mosaic tiles on the floor, a tank of exotic fish in the corner and a stainless steel coffee bar hugs the tiny trading floor.

Although Enterprise has no specific investment mandate, Doak says the partners stick with stocks and management teams that they know well—principally Canada's cyclical resources stocks. The partners prowl the market searching for companies to "short." That means they borrow and sell stock they do not own, and wait for its price to fall. Then, they cover or repay the loan with shares that trade at a lower price. The profit lies in the differential: the lower a stock sinks, the greater the return.

In an equally predatory manner, the partners target companies for takeover and arbitrage plays. That involves investing in a firm, approaching other major shareholders, lining up potential suitors to make a bid—hostile or friendly. Another way to "catalyze" an investment, as Doak describes the process, is to exert pressure on management to make changes that increase shareholder returns.

Those returns have been hard-won: one of the best-known hedge funds, Tiger Management of New York, lost over $3 billion, or 10 per cent of its total assets, in the first half of September alone, by incorrectly betting that the yen would continue to fall against the U.S. dollar. The Bank of Montreal has posted a $140-million loss on its proprietary junk bond trades. And Doak admits that earlier this year Enterprise was caught shorting stocks while an influx of Asian capital into North America buoyed share values. The lesson for investors: in the bear market, bulls easily become scapegoats. And even hedges can get clipped.



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Business NOTES

YBM PROBE PROMISED

An Alberta court approved a bid by institutional investors to take control of troubled YBM Magnex International Inc. And the new directors vowed to launch an investigation into allegations of criminal activity and links to Russian mobsters. At one point, Magnex, which trades on the Toronto Stock Exchange, had a market capitalization of $1 billion. But its shares have not traded since May, when FBI agents raided its Pennsylvania headquarters as part of an organized crime probe.

COREL TURNS THE CORNER

Corel Corp. reported its first operating profit in 18 months, despite one-time charges of $23.9 million that pushed the Ottawa-based software maker $11.8 million into the red for the third quarter ending Aug. 31. Chairman Michael Cowpland predicted the company will post an overall profit in the fourth quarter. Corel's shares plummeted after its decision to compete with Microsoft Corp. in the office software market.

AIRLINE ALLIANCE

Calgary-based Canadian Airlines joined an alliance of five airlines, promising co-ordinated schedules and smoother travel. The "one-world" alliance, which includes British Airways, American Airlines, Hong Kong-based Cathay Pacific and Australia's Qantas, is a direct response to the six-member Star alliance, which was formed in May, 1997, and includes Air Canada.

STOCK INDEX OVERHAUL

The Toronto Stock Exchange is negotiating with New York City-based credit-rating agency Standard and Poor's Corp. to help revamp its stock indexes. The makeup of the TSE 35, TSE 100 and TSE 300 indexes has sparked controversy in recent months in the wake of scandals involving indexed companies such as Bre-X Minerals Ltd. and YBM Magnex International Inc.

MOBIL DIGS DEEP

Calgary-based Mobil Canada said it plans to spend $4 billion in development off the East Coast over the next five years. Mobil has major stakes in Newfoundland's Hibernia and Terra Nova projects, and Nova Scotia's Sable Offshore Energy Project. More drilling is planned later this year on the Hebron discovery, between Hibernia and Terra Nova.

Greenspan throws a lifeline

The near-collapse of a major New York City based hedge fund rocked investors around the world, dragging down share prices and sparking fears that Asia's economic problems are beginning to undermine U.S. and European financial institutions. A consortium of 16 banks and brokerage firms rushed to calm fears with a $5.3-billion bailout for Long-Term Capital Management LP, which had invested $140 billion in complex, high-risk deals around the world. Its collapse raised concerns about the soundness of more than 4,000 of the hedge funds in the United States. "There are going to be others," said one U.S. equities specialist who asked not to be named. "There's never just one cockroach."



Greenspan: worried

The market turbulence came a day after Alan Greenspan, chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve, sent stocks soaring around the world when he hinted that he might lower U.S. interest rates as early as Sept. 29. Greenspan is concerned about a global recession and hinted that he would cut rates to stimulate the U.S. economy. As well, a rate cut would make the U.S. dollar less attractive to investors and slow the flight of capital out of Asia. But while U.S. economic growth remains steady, Greenspan was clearly worried. "Deteriorating foreign economies," could, he warned, "spill over to domestic markets." The possibility of a rate cut sent the Canadian dollar higher, ending the week at 66.14 cents (U.S.), and prompted Canada's banks to lower interest rates for the third time in three weeks. But in an economic forecast, the Toronto Dominion said Canada will not escape the world's economic woes, and predicted economic growth in 1998 would slow to 2.8 per cent from 3.7 per cent in 1997.

Questioning the deal

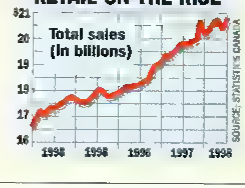
Some powerful Toronto Dominion Bank shareholders are unhappy with the growing gap between TD's stock price and that of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce—its proposed merger partner. And they say they will not endorse the marriage unless the terms are renegotiated. Under the original plan announced in April, TD shareholders would receive 1.318 shares of the new bank for each TD share they held, while CIBC shareholders would receive one new share for each share held. At that time, TD shares stood at $69, compared with $55 a share for CIBC. By the close of trading last Friday, TD shares had fallen to $41.70 and CIBC's stood at $29.05. Because the spread has widened in favor of TD, the disgruntled shareholders want a bigger slice of the new bank. But any partner who ditches the deal is liable for a $400-million breakup fee—and that makes renegotiating the deal extremely difficult.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Canadian consumers came back to life in July, boosting retail sales by a better-than-expected 1.4 per cent to $20.7 billion after a 1.8-per-cent decline in June. Department store sales rose by 5.4 per cent after three months of declines. But the good news may not last—in the months ahead, the retail sector is expected to weaken because of the stock market slide and slower job growth.

In fact, the number of people receiving employment insurance benefits rose 4.5 per cent in July from June to 580,620. In another sign of the slowing economy, bankruptcies shot up to 8,134 in June from 7,668 in May. Individual bankruptcies rose 5.1 per cent, while the number of failed businesses jumped 10.7 per cent. Statistics Canada's composite index—an indicator of how the gross domestic product will perform—showed no growth in August.

RETAIL ON THE RISE



"After two months of declines, consumer purchases in British Columbia bounced back 0.8 per cent in July. However, sales are up just 0.5 per cent from year ago levels, versus 4.1-per-cent nationwide."

—Nesbitt Burns

"Consumer spending, which recorded a 5.5-per-cent annualized gain in the second quarter, is unlikely to grow by more than 2.5 per cent in the July-to-September period."

—TD Bank



Peter C. Newman

Canadian echoes of Tiananmen Square

Every once in a while television provides not just couch potato fodder—laughs tears and hype—but stone-cold truth For me, that moment of moments was the shot of that crazy Chinese kid braving a tank during the brief, tragic protest in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in the fall of 1989. He was daring the armored behemoth to squash him for all the world to see, and it was the tank that backed off Watching that memorable tableau, I figured the only comfort to be drawn from that unforgettable confrontation was not that the human spirit conquers all—because nearly a decade later human rights in China are still in the deep freeze—but that it couldn't happen here

But something like it very nearly did, and with the active participation of the man whose mandate it is to protect Canadian citizens from armed foreign incursions, the Prime Minister of Canada The more Canadians learn about the dramatic events at the University of British Columbia last fall, when students protested the visit of Indonesian president Suharto then Asia's harshest dictator, the more they realize how close the brush with tragedy It could have turned into Canada's version of Tiananmen Square

At the time, our Prime Minister dismissed the confrontation as inconsequential Asked about the indiscriminate use of pepper spray to squash the legitimate and not unruly student rally Jean Chretien quipped, 'For me, pepper, I put on my plate."

As I heard him deliver that culinary bit of wisdom, it struck me that this tasty sound bite would inevitably become part of his legacy Ever since Chretien became Prime Minister, I have been hectoring him for not explaining to a nation, befuddled by his inane rhetoric, why he bothered to spend 30 years trying to become the country's political leader when he did not know how to gainfully occupy his office hours

His little pepper joke was the equivalent of Pierre Trudeau's famous off-the-cuff quip to the CBC s Tim Ralfe, who had asked him how far he was willing to go in trampling human rights during the 1970 FLQ crisis. "Just watch me!" the prime minister shot back and he proceeded to pass legislation that empowered soldiers to jail dozens of Quebec intellectuals

I was in Ottawa at the time and vividly remember attending a reception at the home of Jean-Luc Pepin, then-minister of trade in the Trudeau government Because he was an outspoken Quebec federalist, Pepin was assigned a bodyguard to chaperone his cocktail party Armed with a compact James Bondish machine-gun, the lone soldier assigned to keep us out of harm's way steadfastly frog-marched outside the living-room windows, watching the understandably subdued goings-on

Then it started to rain Being good Canadians, we invited our guardian inside, offering him drinks and advice about where he should point his gun He turned out to be a talkative Newfoundlander who accepted more of the former than the latter, quickly dominating the evening's suddenly lively discussions Somehow we felt better having the increasingly tipsy gunner inside the tent

But not for long The Screech Commando decided to use his 10 minutes of fame to share some Newfoundland jokes. As he waved his machine-gun with good-humored menace at anyone who didn't laugh quite loud enough, his one-liners triggered considerable consternation It was not a comfortable arrangement. We felt not without reason, that his self deprecating Newfie jokes were a test If we laughed too hard, he might think we were laughing at him And he was the guy with the machine-gun

> The issue of the APEC protesters' arrests is not just what happened, but what might—and easily could—have happened

The warrior from the Rock was at the point of explaining how some of "de boyz" up in Gander wouldn't be too upset if Quebec did leave, because they could drive to Toronto in half the time, when his sergeant appeared and ordered him back out in the rain The last time I saw him, he was carefully drawing a bead on the moon with his machine-gun, softly laughing to himself

I remember thinking how lucky a people we were to have such benign guardians of public safety: tipsy machine-gunners who never fire a shot But all that changed last fall, when Chretien allowed armed thugs (masquerading as Suharto bodyguards) into the country during the APEC Summit. The battle with university protesters was fought on the lush, treed UBC campus, and it was mainly because of the RCMP s pre-emptive arrests of some of these gun jockeys that no one was shot

The issue here isn't what happened, but what might, and easily could have happened The PM's priorities were there for everyone to read

1 To make sure that the Indonesian leader s visit was not disrupted by having his corrupt practices questioned

2. To systematically put down the rights of protesters to voice their objections to the visit, even if that meant crushing the long-standing privilege of giving the politicians the finger

The details of this disgraceful event will emerge at the hearings being held in Vancouver during the next few weeks But we know enough now to realize that our Prime Minister is a man who has little compassion or tolerance for democratic dissent Manhandling that protester in Hull some two years ago, dismissing with a joke the legitimate protest of students, and refusing to honor the government s own pay equity commitment, are not isolated instances

How I wish our Prime Minister could take a lesson from that Newfoundland fusilier so many years ago who is probably still out there moon dancing the night away



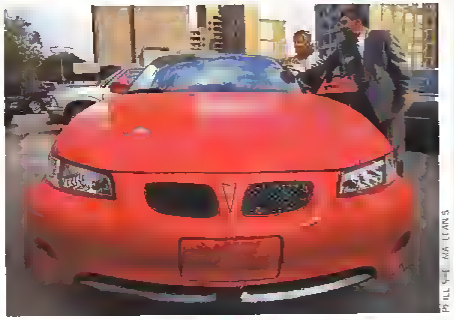
Coming down in price

Thanks to the Asian flu and a bad case of consumer sticker shock, shoppers hunting for a spiffy 1999 vehicle are in for a pleasant surprise: the price of many cars is either going down or staying flat. Oshawa, Ont.-based General Motors of Canada Ltd. has just slashed the price on its popular Pontiac Grand Prix to $25,399, down $635 from a year ago. Similarly, the base price on its new Cadillac DeVille is $49,710, a $785 decline from 1998. GM spokesman Greg Gibson says that, overall, prices on 1999 GM vehicles are 0.8 per cent lower than for last year's models. And as they reveal new-car prices over the next two weeks, other manufacturers are expected to follow GM's lead. In fact, Ford Motor Co. has already slashed the cost of its popular Taurus family sedan by $1,500 in the United States—and it could fall by a similar amount here.

The weak yen has made some Japanese imports cheaper, which has forced the Big Three North American manufacturers to follow suit. But even Japanese models made in North America, such as the Ontario-built Toyota Corolla, will cost less because many of the components come from Japan.

Consumers are also reluctant to pay more. "There is absolutely no room to raise prices," says Toronto auto analyst Dennis DesRosiers. He notes that shoppers bought record numbers of vehicles in 1987 and 1988—the first years in which the automakers really began upgrading vehicle quality. As a result, says DesRosiers, they are bound to be outraged by the high costs of today's vehicles. But it looks like car prices will not be heading higher anytime soon.

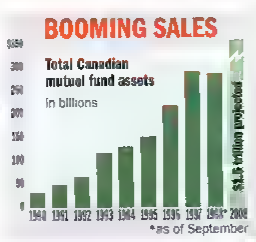
Shopping for a Grand Prix in Toronto: holding the line on costs



PHILLIP MARCHAND

Cutting fund fees

It has been a brutal year for many Canadian mutual fund owners who have seen their 1998 gains all but wiped out in the recent market slide. But analysts are hoping that shell-shocked investors will also start to finally realize that high management fees are also eroding their investments. According to recent industry studies, nearly half of all investors have no idea how much they are paying in management fees. The fees can be costly. For example, if a fund gains 10 per cent in value and has a two-per-cent management fee, it amounts to a 20-per-cent cut in the investors' return. And with median management fees running at 2.35 per cent on Canadian equity funds, which is nearly twice the U.S. level, many investors will be paying even higher rates. Glorianne Stromberg, a commissioner with the Ontario Securities Commission, says if fees cut one-per-cent out of an individual's long-term return on retirement savings, it leads to a 20-per-cent reduction in their ultimate retirement income. But help may be on the way. Dan Richards, president of Marketing Solutions, a Toronto financial consulting firm, says if consolidation in the financial industry occurs, the greater economies of scale will allow mutual fund operators to slash fees. Besieged investors can only hope he is right.



FORECAST: Corporate profits Earnings projections are looking bleak. Doug Porter, senior economist at Nesbitt Burns Inc. in Toronto, says the profits of the leading 500 American corporations will drop to an average gain of just one per cent this year, compared with a jump of 10 per cent in 1997. Canadian corporations, which have been hammered by slumping commodities prices, are expected to suffer an average loss of three per cent this year, down from a bullish 16.2-per-cent increase in 1997.

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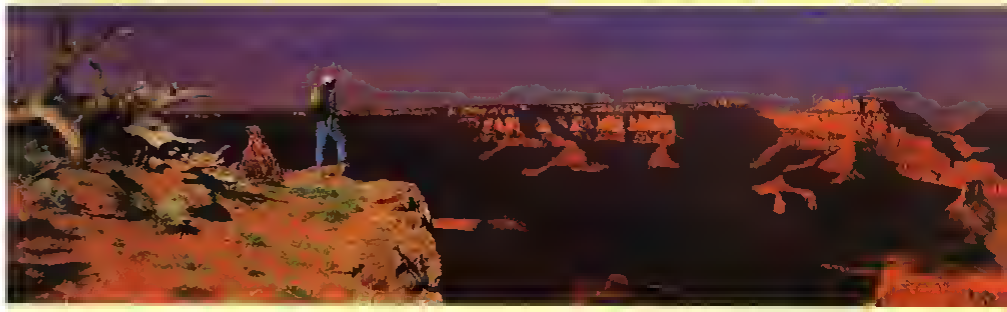
It is a daunting task. Each year, more than 150,000 Canadians between the ages of 69 and 71 must convert their RRSP savings into registered retirement income funds. Mistakes can be costly—investors can end up paying too much tax or sign a deal that robs them of interest income. Now, in his new book, *Guide to RRIFs 1999*, author David Tafler escorts the reader through the minefield surrounding one of life's most difficult decisions. Tafler's main advice: if investors are within five years of having to cash out their RRSPs, they should begin developing a bulletproof conversion plan. He offers 13 ways to reduce taxes and advice on how to find a financial planner.

Opting for security

In an era of booming stock markets, investors often treated Canada Savings Bonds like unpopular relatives. But with market turmoil forcing some investors to cash in their stocks, the bonds, which are safe and instantly redeemable, are expected to receive a warm welcome when they hit the street on Oct. 5. And with Canadian interest rates rising, Ottawa is even hinting that it will increase interest rates on bonds above last year's four per cent. In 1997, the government sold $4.9 billion in savings bonds, which was slightly off the $5.7 billion sold in 1996.

Sharing the road

Pam Mandich does not want to own a car, she just wants to use one occasionally. Mandich has found a way to do just that by joining a car-sharing network in Toronto. Mandich, a part-time television researcher, paid a one-time $500 refundable deposit, plus a $10 monthly administration fee, to join the Auto Share network. When Mandich needs a vehicle, she simply calls Auto Share to book a car at a cost of $15 a day and 25 cents per kilometre. Since its launch in late August, Auto Share has signed on 20 members, and hopes to grow as fast as Canada's first car-sharing network in Quebec City, which has grown to 400 members and 32 vehicles in four years.



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OUR DYING SEAS

COVER OCEANS

'We face a disaster of monumental proportions.'

—Richard Cashin, chairman, Task Force on the Atlantic Fishery, 1993

BY CHRIS WOOD

The marauder first appeared as a bright blip on a radar screen aboard a Canadian Forces Aurora surveillance aircraft. The plane had been in the air for three hours, patrolling the Pacific Ocean near the international date line northwest of Hawaii. As dawn broke on the June morning, the four-engine plane dropped down for a closer look. Recalls navigator Eric Johnsrude: "We came in at about 200 feet on this guy and noticed a whole lot of floats in the water. The floats led us straight to a white vessel, about 150 feet long, which fit the description of a drift-net boat."

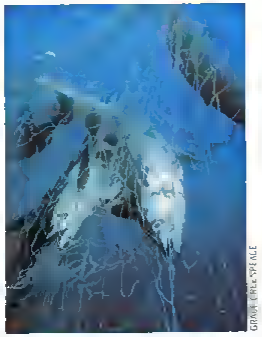
Canadian authorities relayed that suspicion to the U.S. Coast Guard, which dispatched a cutter to intercept the vessel. After a two-week chase, the cutter's crew finally boarded the Cao Yu 6025, a stateless ship with a Chinese crew, south of Japan. In the hold, they found damning evidence: 110 tonnes of tuna and shark fins, and a drift gillnet almost 20 km long—an indiscriminate killer of marine life banned on the high seas under an international agreement.

Out of sight, and mostly out of mind, the oceans are under siege. Scientists from around the world are reporting global disturbances in the seas that threaten to bring Richard Cashin's grim warning home to every Canadian household. From the polar seas to the tropics, fish populations have collapsed or teeter on the brink. In a third of the Pacific, plankton that form the foundation of the marine food chain are vanishing. In every corner of the planet, increasing temperatures are obliterating some species, while driving others into unfamiliar waters. As science scrambles to make sense of uneven data, evidence points to an alarming conclusion: the sea, the cradle of life, is dying.

The killers are numerous. The most obvious, global overfishing, harvests 70 per cent of the world's species faster than they can reproduce themselves. But the scientific community is not even sure that is the worst menace to the seas. Other major threats: human pollution, including an estimated 700 million gallons of toxic chemicals dumped into the sea each year, and global warming, widely attributed to industrial production of so-called greenhouse gases, which appears to be affecting ocean temperatures.

Sharply pricier seafood is only the mildest consequence; others are far more serious. In many parts of the world, fishing jobs have disappeared. On Canada's East Coast, 26,000 unemployed former fish workers drew income from the federal government's Atlantic Groundfish Strategy—15,000 from Newfoundland alone—until its $1.9 billion in funding ran out in August. Far worse, developing countries dependent on marine protein confront the risk of mass starvation. In many regions, rival national claims to the seas' diminishing harvest hold potential for armed conflict. More terrifying still is the spectre of ecological armageddon, as the oceans lose the capacity to generate the oxygen on which life itself depends.

For too many species, extinction has already come. Half a century ago, 600,000 barn-door skate swam North America's Atlantic seaboard. Never intentionally fished, they nonetheless frequently became ensnared in nets or on hooks. By the 1970s, scientists could find no more than 500 skate throughout its previous range. Now, they can't find any. "If bald eagles were as common as robins and then disappeared, someone would notice," says biologist Ransom Myers of Halifax's Dalhousie University. "In the ocean, no one knows. No one cares."



GREENPEACE/PEACE

DEATH IN THE CRADLE OF LIFE: Tuna in a drift net; whale hauled aboard a Japanese ship (opposite)

Belatedly, a handful of governments and others have begun to notice, to care and to act, moving tentatively to rein in the worst abuses of the seas. The patrol that spotted the Cao Yu was one of six that Canada donates each year to enforce an international ban on drift nets, blamed for killing dolphins, sharks, turtles and seabirds, in addition to their intended catch. On Sept. 1, the federal government designated two protected marine habitats at Race Rocks and Gabriola Passage, B.C.—the first in a promised chain of preserves in Canadian waters where fishing will be banned. On the same day, an international commission concluded three years of study by urging coastal nations to bury their differences and form a world authority to regulate fishing beyond the 200-mile (370-km) economic zones of individual states.

Individuals and small groups are also taking action where they can. In Toronto, some chefs have agreed to remove swordfish from their menus out of concern for their rapidly declining numbers. In British Columbia, schoolchildren are "adopting" streams where salmon spawn, laboring to remove debris and restore the critical habitats. But such bright spots are few. "The sea is in real trouble," says Elliott Norse, founder of the Redmond, Wash.-based Marine Conservation Biology Institute, "much more than we previously thought. There is major disruption even in the deep ocean." In January, 1,600 marine scientists from 65 countries joined Norse in signing a joint appeal to governments "to take decisive action to stop further irreversible damage to the sea's biological diversity and integrity."

Critical to the survival of marine life is plankton, the tiny plants and animals that normally teem near the ocean's surface, providing food for predators from salmon to seabirds. Off the U.S. west coast, scientists have detected a 70-per-cent drop in zooplankton



CULLEY/GREENPEACE

DASHED HOPES IN THE WEST

"You know, it's Newfoundland all over again," says Christina Sarlandie as she ponders the precarious state of the British Columbia fishery. "A lot of people don't want to think of it that way, but it is if you ask me." Sarlandie, her parents, Jean-Louis and Anna, her younger brother Thierry, and her boyfriend, Edward Dicks, all moved across the country in 1995, seeking a new future after the 1992 collapse of the East Coast groundfishery. At first, they found jobs at Pacific Coast Processors plant in Ucluelet, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The money was good—Christina's $12.50 per hour was a definite improvement on the $5 she had last earned at the Petty Harbour Fisherman's Co-op in Newfoundland. Unfortunately, the stability did not last.

In December, 1996, Pacific Coast shut down the groundfish operation, throwing Jean-Louis Sarlandie out of work and leaving other family members with lower paying jobs in other parts of the operation. Sarlandie, his wife and son relocated 60 km to Port Alberni and are still working at the fish plant there, but for less money. For the Sarlandie clan, as for many of the easterners who flocked to British Columbia in search of fishery work since 1992, the initial euphoria has turned to profound disappointment. "Our hopes were so high when we came," reflects Christina, 25, "and it's been a huge letdown."

Valued for their knowledge of all aspects of the job—deck work, barrel work and, especially, net work—East Coast fishers are also appreciated for their willingness to work cheaply. Boyd Bristol, 31, who arrived from Lunenburg, N.S., last November, has made nine trips to sea since then—and earned a total of $900. Living on a battered sailboat in Ucluelet, he gets by with the help of money from home and from the sale of personal belongings. Says Bristol: "One guy told me the other day, 'Your problem, Boyd, is you have to stop loving the fishing.' And I guess that's true."

Bristol has no plans to return to Nova Scotia, but he misses what he once had there. "I'm used to those big old 55-tonne draggers," he says, "where you all work together and the skipper comes down and joins in the work like everybody else and you all take your shares." Things are different on British Columbia's 35-footers, he says. "You're the crew and he's the captain and you do all the work—and most of the time you don't even get paid."

SUSAN C. MacPHEE *in Vancouver*





HUMAN POLLUTION: An oil tanker burning off Italy sullies the marine environment

VI CAI/GREENPEACE

COVER OCEANS

(the animal variety) since 1950. The same decades have witnessed an even more staggering decline in the number of migratory sooty shearwaters, seabirds that dine on the tiny creatures. "It used to be the most abundant bird in the California Current, by far" says biologist John McGowan of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography at San Diego. Now, 90 per cent are gone.

Just how far, wide and deep the damage goes is a matter of speculation. The ocean is a big place, full of myriad creatures, whose complex relationships mankind has barely begun to identify, let alone understand. To study it, scientists must look beneath its surface, which is expensive. In developing countries, which take three-quarters of the world's fish, science of any kind is a luxury. In Canada, which exports $3 billion worth of seafood a year, research until recently focused almost exclusively on ways to find, count and catch more fish. "In doing that," acknowledges Richard Beamish, a leading researcher at the federal government's Pacific Biological Station at Nanaimo, B.C., "we sacrificed the opportunity to understand the mechanisms in the ecosystem better."

The limits of scientific knowledge leave some of the most critical questions without any answer. One of those is whether forces big enough to wipe out seven-tenths of the zooplankton in the northeast Pacific are also affecting the ocean's capacity to generate one-half of the oxygen released into the biosphere each year. The crucial gas is freed from carbon dioxide as a byproduct of the same process by which plants capture carbon for growth: photosynthesis. "We *think* that photosynthesis and the carbon system have been affected in the east one-third of the Pacific," says Scripps' McGowan. "But we can't say because we don't have the measurements."

Knowledgeable assessments of the sea's future often seem to have an apocalyptic air. Elisabeth Mann Borgese, Halifax-based chairman of the International Ocean Institute, lays most of the blame for the seas' sickness on humans—who will ultimately pay the cost. "What we are doing is killing ourselves," she says soberly. "It is the human race that will die out if we don't do something." Federal Fisheries and Oceans Minister David Anderson, under fire in the fishing community for the restrictions he has imposed on catches, also struck a dire note when interviewed by *Maclean's*. "We have a major crisis in the oceans," Anderson said. "If we don't start undertaking effective measures, internationally, we are dead."

But where to begin? The threats to the oceans are fiercely defended by those who benefit from them—and sometimes simply beyond man's control. Even as debate continues over the level of human responsibility for the phenomenon, scientists are recording long-term changes in the temperatures of the seas, with widespread impact on life.

But to many, the worst offender seems obvious: the overmuscled, underpoliced and habitually predatory world fishing fleet of three million vessels, large and small. "Too many boats taking too many fish," declared the Washington-based environmental group the World Wildlife Fund last month. It was echoing a report last year from the Rome-based Food and Agriculture Organization, the UN agency that monitors global fishing. It blamed $74 billion annually in subsidies for creating an international fleet at least twice as large as fish stocks can support.

The power of the world's fishing fleet is more than a matter of numbers, though. In the past three decades, technology adapted from Cold War electronics has transformed the humble fishing boat into a computerized killing machine. The bridge of the 32-m Caledonian, which visited its home port of Vancouver briefly in early September, displays a dozen video screens. Among them: three depth sounders, two radar sets, a computer and a sonar—a tool that acts like an acoustic searchlight, probing ahead of the ship for schools of fish.

The Caledonian earns its keep in some of the roughest waters in the world. British Columbia's Hecate Strait, Queen Charlotte Sound and Dixon Entrance, where Pacific rollers spend their last energy on North America's narrow western continental shelf. Trawl nets capable of straining as much as 13,500 kg of fish from the Pacific in a single gulp are spooled on huge reels suspended over the vessel's afterdeck. At the end of a typical 10-day fishing trip, the Caledonian will come home with more than 150,000 kg of hake, rockfish, lingcod and sole in its hold. Says crewman Alan Vernot: "We work 12 months a year, and nobody's on welfare." Far from it—vessels like the Caledonian can provide more than $100 000 a year to each crew member.

Few question that it was the sheer weight of fishing that reduced Canada's Atlantic cod to what the UN Food and Agriculture Organization officially calls "commercial extinction." Says biologist Richard Haedrich of Memorial University in St. John's, Nfld.: "Cod were never prepared to deal with the kind of predation they experienced. 30 per cent of the fish population each year for 30 years."

Another worrisome feature of modern fishing is what biologists call "fishing down the food web." In sea after sea, when large, valuable fish are exhausted, effort turns to smaller, generally shorter-lived and less appetizing species. 'If we keep going," warns University of British Columbia fisheries specialist Daniel Pauly, "we will have a sea full of little horrible things that nobody wants to eat." The trend has already reached its logical extension as fleets in several parts of the world have turned to a profoundly alarming technique known as "biomass fishing." Huge trawls with very fine mesh gather up every living thing above the size of plankton. What is large enough to sell as human food goes to market. The rest is ground into meal.

Much of that goes to feed farmed shrimp and fish. But such aquaculture operations, once touted as a way to provide high-quality seafood without endangering the future of wild fish, in fact, seem often to have an opposite effect. Shrimp ponds (many of which become contaminated with disease and must be abandoned in as little as 24 months) have replaced two-thirds of Thailand's coastal mangrove forests, a critical nursery zone for marine life. In Canada, New Brunswick salmon farmers had to destroy $100 million worth of captive fish earlier this year in an attempt to halt the spread of disease to wild stocks. Last week, opponents of fish farming on the West Coast leaked two government reports that raised similar fears there. The Vancouver-based Suzuki Foundation publicized a report that Atlantic salmon have escaped from aquaculture pens and begun to spawn in B.C.

streams—posing a potential threat to native species. Another found lethal amounts of toxic farm waste in bottom sediment near aquaculture sites. What is certain is that farmed fish do little to reduce the pressure on wild ones. It takes four kilograms of fish meal, most of it made from wild catch, to bring one kilogram of farmed fish to market.

Meanwhile, a growing body of evidence gives equal cause for concern about *how* fish are caught—quite apart from how much. Like many similar vessels, the Caledonian carries three trawls, two of which drag the sea floor for rockfish and bottom-dwelling sole. With each pass across the bottom, however, trawl gear scours a bulldozer-like path of destruction across sensitive ecosystems. "Bottom trawlers are so obviously destructive, it's a no-brainer," asserts Sylvia Earle, a marine biologist based in Oakland, Calif. "You don't destroy a forest to catch a few squirrels."

Then there is the sea life that fishermen are not even interested in, yet still manage to ensnare—like the ill-fated Atlantic skate. Called "by-catch," such unintended prey is normally thrown overboard, usually too badly damaged to survive. And the amount is enormous. In the North Atlantic, says Memorial's Haedrich, ' some shrimp fishermen tell us the bycatch of small redfish and flounder is up to 10 to one. 10 redfish for one shrimp." Worldwide, the Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that one tonne of dead and dying unwanted fish is tossed back into the sea for every three tonnes of desired catch brought ashore.

Other things also die. According to the World Wildlife Fund, shrimp nets have killed up to 100,000 sea turtles a year. Some countries, including the United States and Canada, now insist that the nets include strainer-like gear to keep turtles and other bycatch out. As many as 80,000 albatrosses continue to die each year from taking the bait on floating hooks trailed over miles of ocean surface in the Southern Hemisphere by boats hunting tuna.

Still, easy as it is to target fishing fleets for blame, it is wrong to pin all the sea's injuries on them. Some scientists in fact insist that the focus on overfishing obscures an even greater threat to the oceans. "The worst trouble," asserts Halifax's Mann Borgese, "is land-based pollution. That accounts for 80 per cent of the mess we're in." From uncounted sources—farm runoff, urban sewage, industrial waste—toxins let loose in the terrestrial environment obey only one law: following gravity to the sea. "Every time somebody in Ottawa empties their crankcase oil in a shopping centre parking lot," observes Norse, "that oil winds up in the ocean."



WHEN THE HARVEST WAS PLENTIFUL: Fishermen bring in their catch in Trouty, Nfld

But if mankind's hand is clear in many ecological disasters, it is less so in other developments that are forcing even greater change on the oceans. Around the globe, violent coast-battering storms are becoming more frequent. More ultraviolet radiation is striking the sea surface through a thinning ozone layer. In many places, the sea itself is no longer the temperature that it has been for decades—in some cases warmer now, in other cases cooler. Many scientists who make such observations shrink from linking them, or their effects, conclusively to global warming. But manmade or not, their impacts are real.

Researchers believe that many coral reefs in the Caribbean and South Pacific have been left desolate and dead—"bleached," researchers call it—by extended periods of unusually warm seawater. Since 1991, toxic algae blooms, encouraged by the heat, have killed an estimated one billion fish off the U.S. Atlantic coast. A rise in sea level is blamed for the death of much of the mangrove along Bermuda's coast.

For many Canadians, change in the north Pacific strikes closer to home. Data collected by Scripps point to an overall increase since 1976 of about 1° C in the temperature of the northeastern third of the world's largest ocean. Now, a growing number of researchers say warm seawater may be doing as much damage to B.C. salmon as all other threats combined.

It happens several ways. Marauding schools of mackerel ride the warmer water, which suits them, up the west coast in large numbers. They prey heavily on juvenile salmon leaving their natal rivers. The few young salmon that run the gauntlet to the open sea find that the area of ocean within the narrow band of temperatures they can tolerate is shrinking. At the same time, nutrients that fuel the marine food chain are vanishing from the near-surface waters where salmon swim. One way or another, says Beamish, where formerly 15 to 20 per cent of coho salmon returned from their sojourn in the sea now, "about 95 to 98 per cent that enter the ocean, die."

In fairness, global climate change is not an easy matter to engage. It may even turn out to have little to do with human activity at all. Yet even where relieving pressure on the seas is within society's reach, says Mann Borgese, "nothing is really being done." There are local exceptions to that gloomy rule. Environmental regulations have reduced the pollution flowing into the oceans from such rivers as Britain's Thames and Canada's St. Lawrence. The B.C. trawler fleet is now just half the size it was three years ago.

But rules have never sat well with fishermen. In Canada, as elsewhere, they have fiercely—sometimes violently—resisted most attempts to curtail their activities. On more than a dozen occasions since 1995, fishers on the Atlantic or Pacific coast have responded to regulations designed to conserve fish stocks by mounting angry demonstrations, including occupations of department of fisheries and oceans offices and the seizure of one of its ships.

Too often, as well, shallow politics overrides the deeper interests of the sea. That certainly seems the case in British Columbia, where Premier Glen Clark last week accepted a report from former Newfoundland premier and long-time Ottawa-basher Brian Peckford. Clark had hired Peckford to "expose mismanagement" by Anderson's department in allocating salmon to competing fishing groups. It was unclear what the report, expected to be released this week, could say that would do much to save the salmon from inexorable change in the climate.

Internationally, a report issued on Sept. 1 by the UN-mandated Independent World Commission on the Oceans may yet spark overdue reforms. It called for national navies to become involved, as Canada's has, in enforcing conservation measures. It also urged the world's fishing countries to create new international bodies to monitor and manage the oceans as common assets—or face catastrophe early in the next century.

Newfoundland has had a foretaste of such a catastrophe. To the fishing community, Richard Cashin observed in his report, "the devastation of the fish stocks is like the land becoming barren." The price of inaction in defence of the seas may well be the same fate on a global scale.

With RUTH ABRAMSON in Vancouver

THE NO-LONGER-PRISTINE NORTH

When biologists and oceanographers first turned their attention to the Canadian Arctic in the 1960s, they went in search of pristine waters and ecosystems, so-called baseline data to compare with the industrialized southern oceans. Instead, they found evidence of human intrusion almost everywhere. More than three decades later, researchers continue to be surprised by the waters off Canada's third largely unindustrialized coastline and by the animals that call it home. Industrial chemicals known as organochlorines—PCBs, toxaphene and the banned DDT—as well as heavy metals, are present at every stage of the Arctic food chain. The pollution levels, says Rob Macdonald, a chemical oceanographer for the department of fisheries and oceans, "do give us cause for concern. They are higher than we like them to be."

The concentrations of contaminants in the sea itself, and in algae, tiny crustaceans and other creatures that occupy the bottom levels of the marine food web, is still not considered threatening. But at the top of the web, says Macdonald, the contaminants have built up to troubling levels. They are found in the fat of polar bears, seals and whales, and even in the breast milk of Inuit women, who have been advised to cut back on the amount of marine mammal fat they eat while pregnant or nursing. But so far, the evidence suggests that for most northerners, the traditional diet it still better than processed foods imported from the south, according to the Northwest Territories' chief medical officer, Dr. Andre Corriveau.

Posing an even larger threat, however, is the global climate change that may be reducing ice cover and reshaping the North in ways that scientists are only now beginning to understand. In Tuktoyaktuk, on the Beaufort coast, the shoreline has receded by 100 m in the past few decades. Studies point to increased storm surges and wave action that are the result of longer ice-free periods in recent summers. With computer models predicting even more ice-free days, oil companies are speculating about a year-round navigable Northwest Passage in the late 21st century. That could be a boon for the Arctic economy, but a disaster for wildlife that have evolved to live above, below and on the ice.

Again, polar bears are proving one of the best indicators of just how bad things might get. Canadian Wildlife Service biologist Ian Stirling has tentatively linked weight loss and a decline in birth rates with longer ice-free summers, during which the bears have trouble finding their main source of food, seals. More evidence, says Macdonald, that "the Arctic is a sentinel" for both climate change and industrial contamination.

JAMES HRYNYSHYN *in Yellowknife*

FINDING LIFE AFTER THE FISHERY

BY BRIAN BERGMAN

For more than 200 years, the mostly Acadian residents of Nova Scotia's Isle Madame made a living from the sea. That came to a shuddering halt in February, 1995, when the East Coast cod crisis forced the Richmond Fisheries Ltd. plant to close its doors for good, putting 500 of Isle Madame's 4,300 residents out of a job. "It was a shock to everyone's system," says Donna Boudreau, who worked at the plant for 12 years. Many other coastal communities, facing similar challenges, have lapsed into despair and dependency. But on Isle Madame—a 70-square-kilometre island off southwest Cape Breton—residents banded together to try to end the reliance on the traditional fishery by pursuing job opportunities in fields as diverse as call centres, small manufacturing and aquaculture. 'We are survivors," says Boudreau, who now runs Production Picasse, a company that makes hand-painted pottery and provides part-time employment for seven other former fish-plant workers.

As early as 1992, community leaders started sounding out residents on how best to respond to the fisheries crisis. That led to the creation of the Development Isle Madame, a community-owned, nonprofit company that has helped retrain displaced fishermen and plant workers surviving on the federal government's Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) income support—which, after several extensions, finally expired on Aug. 29. The development group also tapped private and government funds to help former fisheries workers start their own businesses or convince existing companies to expand their workforce. Now, more than half of the island's eligible TAGS recipients have shifted to work outside the traditional fisheries—a success rate that is the envy of many communities.

One of those successes is Allan Savoury, who had dropped out of school after Grade 7 to spend the next 20 years working on large offshore trawlers. After the fishery collapse, Savoury earned his Grade 12 equivalency, then decided to get into aquaculture. Supporting his wife and three children through carpentry work, Savoury slowly built up a scallops and mussels farm that now employs up to 18 people. He also developed an innovative cage for raising scallops, which he is beginning to market. Savoury, who only received TAGS while he was going to school, has harsh words for former colleagues who failed to move on. "A lot of good guys," he says, "turned lazy and became too dependent on TAGS."

Edgar Samson evinces a similar can-do attitude. The president of Premium Seafoods Ltd., a company founded in 1984, Samson responded to the cod crisis by buying frozen bulk fish from countries such as Russia, Norway and Iceland and processing it on Isle Madame for export across Eastern Canada. The strategy worked. Premium Seafoods has nearly doubled its workforce and quadrupled its revenues in the years since the cod moratorium. ' I knew I had to adapt," says Samson.

Still, steely resolve can only go so far. For people like Jerry Doiron, who spent 21 years working as a cook on the trawlers, the out look remains bleak. Although he took extra schooling, Doiron finds that, at the age of 54, he does not attract the interest of many employers. "It's depressing," Doiron says of his life these days. "It's boring." Even as Isle Madame moves into a brave new era, haunting memories of the old one linger.

A Maritimes community knew it had to change



SUCCESSFUL ADJUSTMENT: When the cod ran out, Samson started buying catches from other countries



Spain pulls in its nets

BY BARRY CAME

Early each morning, long before the sun rises over Vigo's magnificent bay, the women appear. They are sturdy figures, matrons in broad aprons, with buckets in their hands, rubber boots on their feet. In the predawn gloom, they slip quietly through the maze of cobblestone lanes that wind down from El Berbes, the city's medieval quarter, to the fishing port that lies at the bottom of the hill. There, bedlam awaits in the form of a marketplace, scene of a raucous, reeking drama that unfolds daily along Vigo's waterfront. For the Puerto Pesquero, as the port is known, is the largest fish emporium on the planet, home to a modern day armada of Spanish vessels. More than half a million tonnes of creatures hauled from the world's oceans are landed there every year. And the robust matrons with their buckets and boots are key players. "We buy the fish, we sell the fish, we grade the fish, we weigh the fish, we haul the fish," says Concepcion Juarez, adding with a wink and a grin, "Sometimes, we even have time to eat the fish."

The 44-year-old woman utters the remark as she trudges from the shadowed alleyways of El Berbés into the bright fluorescent lighting of a huge dockside warehouse. Despite the hour, with not even a glimmer of the approaching dawn in the blackened sky outside, the building inside is a hive of activity. It pulsates with the staccato Spanish dialects of Galicia, delivered at full cry—and machine-gun speed—by platoons of burly men and stocky women dodging two-wheeled carts and forklifts piled high with crates. The air is heavy with the odor of dead sea life, heaped mounds of glistening mussels and hairy crabs, lobster, octopus, cuttlefish, prawn and two species of squid, one pale yellow, the other transparent purple.

There are fish everywhere, neat rows of swordfish, shark and tuna, silvery sardines stacked in wooden trays, blue mackerel, red pompano, yellow pout, green sprat and brown anglerfish. Off in one corner, there are even a few frozen packages of the homely bottom feeder the Spanish call *fletán negro*, better known among Canadians as Greenland halibut, or turbot. "Yes," Juarez acknowledges with a sombre nod, "that's the little fellow that caused all the trouble."

Canada's "Turbot War" with Spain in 1995 still has the power to summon deep emotions along the rugged coast of Galicia in the northwestern corner of the country. The Spanish trawler Estai was based in Vigo when Canadian authorities, concerned about overfishing of turbot stocks, boarded and seized the vessel at gunpoint in international waters off Newfoundland's Grand Banks. And it still operates out of the Galician city, although under a new name—Argos Galicia—and flying a new flag—Britain's Union Jack—as it trawls for squid in the South Atlantic around the Falkland Islands. "It is going to take a long, long time for most of us around here to forget that particular unpleasantness," says José Suarez-Llanos Rodriguez, assistant manager of Vigo's Fishing Vessel Owners Co-operative.

Three separate court cases arising from the affair are still pending. Canada is challenging the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in The Hague to hear an application from Spain that it determine the legality of Canada's unilateral action on the high seas. The Vigo shipowners co-operative, backed by the Spanish regional authorities in Galicia, has launched an action in Brussels, seeking financial compensation from the European Union for that organization's role in the dispute. And Vigo-based Jose Pereira and Sons, owners of the Estai, have filed suit against the Canadian government in federal court in St. John's, Nfld., for a yet-undetermined amount of punitive and special damages. None of the cases appears close to a resolution, especially the private suit in St. John's. "We've been in the Canadian courts for almost three years now without much progress to report," complains Pereira company lawyer Carlos Pérez-Bouzada Gonzalez. "To be frank, it's a little tiring because we think the Canadian authorities are simply stalling. They've told us they have to obtain clearance for 30,000 pages of confidential government documents before they can proceed."

Even without the recurrent legal reminders, few Gallegos—inhabitants of Galicia—can easily overlook an incident that struck so close to the region's vital interests. Fish matter to the region, especially Vigo, a city of 300 000 on the south shore of a broad fjord-like estuary on the Atlantic coast. The port, in terms of the value of the catch, is the largest in the world, outpacing by a wide margin the Alaskan and Japanese ports that are second and third. The 500,000 tonnes of fresh, frozen and salted fish off-loaded in Vigo's Puerto Pesquero last year contributed $2.5 billion to the local economy. The region's fishing boats, accounting for close to one-third of the total European Union tonnage of fishing vessels, keep 10,000 fishermen working steadily. Another 35,000 people work in associated industries, building and repairing the fleet, and storing and processing the catch. With 500 000 cubic metres of freezer storage space already scattered over the hills that fringe Vigo's estuary, plans are well under way to double that capacity in three to five years. "Take away our fish," says Suarez-Llanos of the shipowners co-operative, "and you destroy our city."

But it is not only the Gallegos who are currently utilizing Vigo's facilities. José Ramón Barañano, director general of fishery resources at Spain's ministry of fisheries in Madrid, points out that the country has, in recent years, become a net importer of fish and fish products. "Not so long ago," he says, "we were importing 40 per cent of our fish requirements. Now, that figure is approaching 60 per cent." The bulk of those imports are channelled through Galicia's two main fishing ports—Vigo, 30 km north of the Portuguese border, and La Coruña, on the northwestern tip of Spain.

On any given day, heavily laden, salt-caked, rust-streaked fishing vessels from around the world nudge to rest in the sprawling network of docks that line Vigo's waterfront. They include ships from neighboring Portugal and France, but also vessels flying the flags of far more distant countries, from Iceland to Argentina, even from as far away as Taiwan and South Korea. There is no great mystery about the reasons why. "They come for the money," says Suarez-Llanos, rubbing a thumb and forefinger together in the worldwide gesture that spans all currencies. "Our prices are often better because international traders know they can find any kind of fish product they may be seeking."

There is another reason for the growing international presence in Galicia's fishing ports. For although Spain still maintains a large fishing fleet, it no longer dominates the global industry as it once did. In the past decade, since joining the European Union in 1986, Spain has made some radical cuts, dropping 250,000 tonnes from a fleet that once registered 650 000 tonnes. "Ten to 20 years ago," notes Barañano of the fisheries ministry, "Spain had 200 vessels on the high seas fishing for cod. Now, we have 18." The country that before 1986 ranked third or fourth in the world in the size of its fleet is now 17th. Even tiny Iceland has twice as many boats as Spain. "The image of Spain's fishing fleet," argues Barañano, "no longer fits the reality."

The fleet reduction that began in 1986 is now largely complete. "We've passed through the storm into calmer waters now," says Suarez-Llanos. Several EU-funded programs provided financial incentives to help Spanish fishermen leave the business or otherwise reduce their harvest. Joint ventures—like the one that now sees the Estai flying a British flag—have protected jobs while technically diminishing the overall tonnage of Spanish-flag vessels. What is more, employment in the fishing sector has remained stable in the face of dwindling national catches because Spain is processing more fish from other nations' fleets. "If we didn't believe in the future of the fishing industry in Vigo," points out Suarez-Llanos, "we would not now be doubling the size of our cold-storage capacity."

Still, the Spanish fleet cannot escape the fact that the resource it and other nations are chasing is a diminishing one. Most countries have been making similar cuts in their fishing fleets. Spain's difference is that it had so much to cut. The aim now, according to Barañano, is to "strike an equilibrium between the reasonable requirements of an industry that is very important to us without upsetting the delicate balance of life in the oceans." It is no simple task, particularly not for a place like Vigo, where each day begins with a graphic, if chaotic, exhibition of the rich bounty the sea can provide. □

The fleet is smaller, but the country processes more fish





HANDLING FISH FROM THE WORLD'S FLEETS: The busy port in Vigo (far left), sorting the catch (centre); and mending the nets in the world's biggest international fish market

Breaking the bonds

Now the seas are 'just another commodity'

BY DR. JOSEPH MacINNIS

Canada is the water country. We have been blessed with the world's longest coastline and one of its largest continental shelves. Canada's shelf—submerged shoulders of the continent—includes the Grand Banks, the bottom of Hudson Bay and the seafloor connecting our enormous archipelago of Arctic islands. It is almost as big an area as the three Prairie provinces combined. In addition, a gleaming web of more than two million lakes and rivers, holding nine per cent of the world's available supply of fresh water, sprawls across our gigantic interior. For thousands of years, First Nations people harvested these waters and thanked them for their bounties. With their arrival less than four centuries ago, the Europeans brought with them a technical expertise that increasingly expressed itself in the marine traditions of fishing, whaling, shipbuilding and sailing.

The early plundering of our oceans did not register in our imaginations, our numbers were small and our oceans and freshwater seas seemed inexhaustible. But at some point—as our population, consumption and technology grew—we lost our reciprocal bonds with the sea.





PHOTOGRAPHY BY BERNARD P. O'DONOUGHUE, ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

BATTLEGROUNDS. A typical sea bottom (below); and devastation after a bottom trawler has passed through (right)

In the summer of 1953, using a recently designed version of the Aqua Lung, I made my first dive beneath the surface of Canada's great waters. It was a breathtaking descent into a mysterious blue-green world suffused with beauty and home to millions of creatures. It was also the beginning of a long journey of exploration and discovery that has taken me to hundreds of submerged sites deep inside the heart of the Atlantic, Pacific and Arctic oceans. With the help of some remarkably talented people, I have swum face-to-face with northern seals and whales, seen under the crystal layers of ice that float over the North Pole, and glimpsed the slowly rusting ruins of the RMS Titanic.

One of my early objectives during this long ocean odyssey was to improve the skills and teamwork that would allow Canadian scientists and other professional divers to work safely on our continental shelves. Recently, I have been studying the dynamic—and, too often, harmful—relationships we Canadians have with our home oceans and freshwater seas.

Since I made that 50-minute dive in 1953, Canada's growth and development have changed how we think and act towards the oceans. The population has doubled, increasing the demand for ocean resources, including fish and shellfish products, as well as offshore oil and gas. As more of us consume more raw and refined ocean resources, we generate more liquid and solid waste and cover more miles of coastlines with buildings, roads and the millions of other structures that support our electronic-industrial society. Our marine technologies are everywhere. With the punch of hand-held keyboards, Earth-orbiting satellites deliver exact longitudes and latitudes to thousands of ships simultaneously. All-steel fishing boats stalk their prey with deep-scanning sonar. Off every coast, the undersea world hums with remotely operated robots and bottom-hugging mini-subs.

During one dive into the freezing waters of the Arctic Ocean, I came across a small but unsettling example of mankind's intrusion into every corner of the natural world. Forty feet under the ice, far from any human settlement, I saw a flash of silver on the seafloor next to a kelp plant. It was a pop can, probably thrown overboard by a sailor on a passing ship. In such temperatures, it might outlast the pyramids.

Perhaps our distancing from the natural world began long ago as we shipped millions of beaver pelts off to Europe. Or perhaps our bond slipped away with the coming of the railways and the industrial logging of our eastern and central watersheds. In this century's version of resource management, we put "For sale" signs up on almost every bay and beachfront and we auctioned off vast areas of the seabed itself to oil and gas companies. We have given new and haunting meanings to "pollution" and "oil spill." No place, even the abyss, is immune. Now, expeditions to the Titanic, lying 4,000 m down in the foothills of the Grand Banks, are turning the world's most famous shipwreck into a brand name. The ocean, once known as the world's last great sanctuary, has become just another commodity.

Recent federal and provincial governments have managed our oceans with intelligence—and with astounding stupidity. We took years to create some of the world's finest ocean science institutions—such as the Bedford Institute of Oceanography in Dartmouth, N.S.—and then strangled them through lack of funding. We took the hard work of some of our acclaimed marine scientists and twisted its truth to achieve political ends. In keeping with our national motto, "From sea even unto sea," we clear-cut the cod stocks off our east coast and then did the same to the salmon off the west coast. Acid rain. Runaway chemicals. Global warming. Unwittingly, as we have done to the land, we have turned our oceans and lakes into battlegrounds where even the slightest desire to protect their future clashes with institutional and personal greed.

It is time, during this UN International Year of the Ocean, to remember that our great waters are a defining symbol of our country. Each day for thousands of years, they have given us nourishment. They are the fountainhead of our weather and climate. They are long, liquid highways and irresistible playgrounds. Their flowing beauty provides consolation for our hearts and inspiration for our minds.

We need a new ocean ethic that recognizes this. Federal Fisheries Minister David Anderson's demonstrated willingness to make decisions on behalf of the fish, and his establishment in September of two marine protected areas in British Columbia, are steps in the right direction. We need more decisions like the positive moves to diminish the poisoning of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River that are helping bring the beluga whales back from the brink of extinction.

Sooner or later, we are going to have to address the hard reality that there are too many of us making too many demands on the natural world. Until we find the courage to do that, we should remember that our marine technologies keep us from really *experiencing* the sea. Ask any professional sailor or fisherman: prolonged physical contact with severe winds and waves inspires a bone-deep respect for their chaotic forces. We should celebrate our scientists and citizens who understand the problems and are working on them against such heavy odds. They are the heroes of the new frontier. They know that our great waters are not an abstraction, but a living foundation of the biosphere that sustains us.

In 1980, a team that I was leading discovered HMS Breadalbane, the world's northernmost known shipwreck. A British three-masted barque she was crushed by the ice 14 years before Canada became a Dominion and now lies on the bottom of Canada's Northwest Passage. Our three-year search taught me that our great waters, even when covered with ice, have an animated, touchable and dramatic face. Our discovery taught me something else. The oceans have something in common with that ship—once destroyed, they do not come back.

Dr. Joseph MacInnis, a Toronto physician and noted deep-sea explorer, has written five books on the ocean.

People

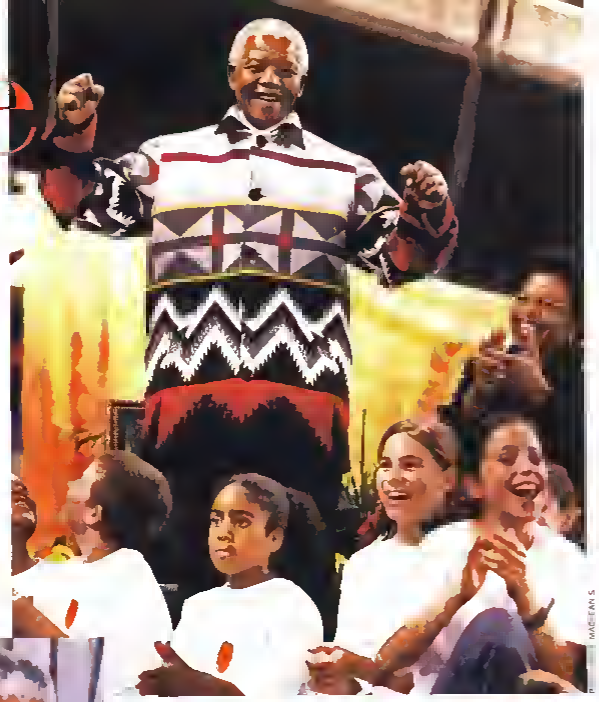
Edited by
TANYA DAVIES

A hero for social justice

He had planned a day of rest before he arrived in Canada. But so many people wanted a piece of **Nelson Mandela** during his short stay in the United States last week that he was busy right up until he flew north. So the 80-year old South African president was a bit late for an early morning encounter with journalists at the Governor General's Ottawa residence. Mandela is known to be an early riser, but a member of the South African entourage whispered with a wink that he has taken to sleeping in a bit later since his marriage last July to **Graça Machel**, 52.

There was an awed hush at Mandela's entrance, everyone watching silently as he tiptoed across the floor to his seat. When he spoke—a deep "Good morning," followed by a joking "I have many questions to ask you"—his rich voice, amplified by the loudspeakers, seemed to possess divine authority.

There were many invocations of Mandela's saintliness during what was clearly a farewell trip to Canada, which ended with an official dinner. Prime Minister **Jean Chrétien** introduced him to the House of Commons as a "hero for the world." And Commons Speaker **Gilbert Parent** said his mark on the century stands beside those of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. There were formal plaudits as well. Gov.-Gen. **Roméo LeBlanc** honored Mandela as the first foreign leader to be made a Companion of the Order of Canada. Gushing tributes are now familiar refrains to Mandela, but he seems to soak them up with grace.







Mandela (clockwise from top) celebrating in Toronto with Machel; riding through Ottawa; receiving the Order of Canada; gushing tributes

Yet there are vestiges of the fighter on which his reputation was founded. His visit coincided with a messy armed intervention by the South African army to try to prop up a teetering government in neighboring Lesotho. During a news conference, South African journalists, less prone to hagiography in *their* stories on Mandela, asked tough questions. "We don't worry about criticisms that are made essentially out of ignorance," he responded combatively.

Nor did Mandela shy from dispensing advice to Canadians. His speech in the House was essentially a rollcall of South Africa's achievements—and shortcomings—since the end of apartheid. He was more expansive during a colorful gathering of children at Toronto's SkyDome the next day, when 45,000 turned out to help launch the Canadian chapter of the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund. Mandela had carefully sidestepped earlier questions about Canada's unity troubles, but he warned the children: "It is your duty to see to it that whatever differences arise, they must be discussed in the spirit of brotherhood." It was advice born from hard experience, from a man who suggests he is "already just an ornament in the government of South Africa." May his magic linger.

BRUCE WALLACE

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WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

Shadows of doubt

Did drug use kill sprinter Florence Griffith Joyner?



Flo-Jo: banned substances can cause heart disease

She was fast and flashy, a babe, a blur, exactly what the world of track and field needed. After years of androgynous-looking East Germans, the Heikes and the Heidis, American sprinter Florence Griffith Joyner brought a dash of glamor to a sport that was fast losing fans. When she showed up at the U.S. Olympic trials in Indianapolis in the summer of 1988, Griffith Joyner unveiled a one-legged bodysuit so form-fitting it looked painted on. And there were those six-inch fingernails, more feline than feminine, and often colored red, white and blue. But if her looks turned heads, it was her sudden speed that raised eyebrows. In her career leading up to Indianapolis, Griffith Joyner was a world-class sprinter with routine results: her best 100-m race wasn't even on the top-40 all-time list. But in the Olympic trials it was as if someone had set her on fast-forward. She won the semifinal in 10.49 seconds, a world-record time that has stood for a decade.

Two months later in Seoul, Flo-Jo won three gold medals and set a world record in the 200-m. By then, the buzz among track's cognoscenti was unequivocal. Flo-Jo was on the juice. "I had seen her run in 1987," Mark Plaatjes, a world champion U.S. marathoner, said last week. "She was beautiful, she was sleek. A year later, it was this monster. You don't do that just with weights." What prompted Plaatjes's comments was the news that Griffith Joyner, 38, had mysteriously died in her sleep in her California home. Ironically, that same day, Canada's Ben Johnson, who was stripped of his gold medal after testing positive for steroids in Seoul, was in a Toronto court fighting to have his lifetime ban overturned. The court denied his appeal, but his public reappearance and Griffith Joyner's early death seemed eerily linked. And coming at the 10th anniversary of Johnson's soiled Olympic run, Flo-Jo's tragedy reopened the painful debate over performance-enhancing drugs. As a former Canadian track star, who admitted to taking steroids, put it: "There's going to be a lot of athletes sitting back and saying 'Holy shit.' "

Throughout her eight-year career, Griffith Joyner insisted she never took drugs. Nor did she ever test positive during a competition. But critics point out that Flo-Jo was never subjected to random, out-of-competition drug testing and quit the sport in 1989 just when she was set to cash in on her Olympic success. The reason, they say: she was scared off when the United States announced it was going to start random testing. That same year, Charlie Francis, Johnson's coach, told the Dubin Inquiry that Griffith Joyner's record-setting runs were humanly impossible without drugs—although Francis plainly had a vested interest in saying so. And American runner Darrell Robinson told the German magazine *Stern* that he had bought HGH (human growth hormone) for Griffith Joyner leading up to the Seoul Olympics. Flo-Jo's response: "Darrell, you are a compulsive, crazy, lying lunatic."

Last week, the Orange County coroner's office completed an autopsy on Griffith Joyner, but said it could take weeks to determine the cause of death. But some experts believe that even if Flo-Jo took banned substances, it may be difficult to show a clear cause and effect. "The chances are nil that there are any traces of those drugs left in her body tissue," said Dr. Albert Fraser, a clinical forensic toxicologist at Dalhousie University in Halifax. Although some studies show that steroids, hormones and other banned substances can cause heart, liver, circulatory, nerve and brain damage, others say that their underground use makes it impossible to scientifically track the dangers. "We can test steroids on animals," said Victor Lachance, head of the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport. "But there's no way we can conduct that kind of research on humans. What we're left with is anecdotal reportage."

But some European doctors were willing to take the leap in Flo-Jo's case. "This death was foreseeable," said Werner Franke, a German molecular biologist and expert in drugs and sport. Added Dr. Jean-Pierre de Mondenard, a French sports physician and drug expert: "It is probable that she used drugs, but others, notably in East Germany, did the same. Other famous athletes are going to die and we will know it."

Griffith Joyner's death capped a summer when performance-enhancing substances were again headline news. Irish swimmer Michelle Smith de Bruin, a triple gold medalist at the Atlanta Olympics, was banned from international meets for four years. Slugger Mark McGwire admitted to using androstenedione, a testosterone booster banned by the International Olympic Committee but not by baseball. The Tour de France was interrupted by a drug scandal, and stories continue to surface from the former East Germany about the state-sponsored drug programs that produced an army of Olympic champions.

In a ghoulish coincidence, Flo-Jo appeared on North American television screens last week—a guest on the game show *Hollywood Squares*. She had pretaped the episodes weeks ago. There, she said she was looking forward to the publication of her book *Running for Dummies*. Although it is intended for rank amateurs, the book's title could serve as an unintended warning to elite speedsters who seek fame and fortune from a bottle.

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Treating an AIDS cancer

Canadians now have access to a medication that can bypass the body's natural defences to attack tumors caused by Kaposi's sarcoma, a disfiguring form of skin and mucous membrane cancer that often strikes AIDS patients. Theresa Allen, a professor of pharmacology and oncology at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, played a leading role in developing Caelyx, which is actually the 23-year-old cancer drug doxorubicin wrapped in a shell that carries the drug directly to tumor sites. Schering Canada Inc. of Pointe Claire, Que., which distributes the drug, said up to 65 per cent of Kaposi's sarcoma patients who took Caelyx in clinical trials experienced significant improvement in their condition. Health Canada approved the new product more than two years after it became available in the United States.



BRUCE EDWARDS/EDMONTON JOURNAL

Allen and model showing how Caelyx works: a shell takes the drug to tumors

Not so microsoft

A pharmaceutical company that is partly owned by Microsoft billionaire Bill Gates has reported promising results from a drug some analysts say could rival Viagra in treating male impotence. Officials at Bothell, Wash.-based Icos Corp. said preliminary testing of its drug IC351 on men suffering from erectile dysfunction was "extremely positive," and added that laboratory studies suggested the new drug might have fewer side-effects than Viagra. Produced by Pfizer Inc. of New York City, Viagra has become the United States' top-selling drug since going on sale in April. Possible side-effects from Viagra, which is expected to be approved by Health Canada this fall, include indigestion, headaches and blue-tinged vision. Gates is Icos's biggest shareholder, with a 12.6-per-cent interest in the firm.

Medicine from sharks

A Canadian-developed cancer drug based on a shark cartilage extract will undergo clinical testing at hospitals in Canada and the United States starting next year. Officials at Quebec City-based AEterna Laboratories Inc. said the drug, Neovastat, will probably be tested on about 500 patients with advanced prostate and lung cancer. AEterna officials said the extract from the backbone of the spiny dogfish, a shark species found in both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, is designed to prevent the formation of new blood vessels needed to nourish tumors. AEterna said the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Md., selected Neovastat for trials that will be funded and supervised by the U.S. government-backed body to evaluate the effectiveness of shark cartilage extract in treating cancer.

Sexy Canadians

Young Canadians are among the most sexually active youths in the world, and Canadians rank second among 14 nations in their claims of sexual stamina. Those are among the findings in an international survey of 10,000 men and women between the ages of 16 and 45 by the British-based condom manufacturer Durex. On average, the survey found, Canadians lost their virginity at 16.6 years, marginally older than the U.S. average of 16.3 years, but a full year younger than the global average of 17.6 years. Canadians reported making love on average for 22.7 minutes, well short of the Americans' claim of 28.1 minutes, but substantially longer than the global average of 17.2 minutes. Canadians rated high in fidelity, with only 34 per cent admitting to having more than one sexual relationship at a time. The United States was the most promiscuous nation, with 50 per cent of Americans admitting infidelity, followed by Russia (43 per cent) and Britain (42 per cent).

A French first: attaching an arm

Surgeons in Lyon, France, worked for more than 13 hours to attach a brain-dead donor's right hand and forearm to an Australian businessman who lost his limb while cutting wood 14 years ago. A five-member team at Lyon's Edouard Herriot hospital attached the limb of an unidentified patient to Clint Hallam, 48. A hospital statement said the procedure could give hope to accident or warfare victims and to people born with congenital disabilities. But it will be several weeks before doctors can tell whether the transplant succeeded—and how well the newly attached limb will function. In 1964, an attempt at limb attachment in Ecuador failed after two weeks when the recipient's body rejected the grafted limb.

Doctors in Lyon said they were confident of success because of advances in anti-rejection drugs and transplant techniques. Some critics questioned the ethics of giving limb recipients anti-rejection drugs, which must be taken on a long-term basis. The drugs suppress the body's immune system, increasing the chances of infection, organ damage and diseases, including cancer.

The five-member team in Lyon included surgeons from Australia, Britain, France and Italy. Their operation upstaged plans by surgeons in Louisville, Ky., to perform a hand transplant operation later this year. A team member in Louisville said the doctors had already selected several patients from among about 100 applicants. Some experts speculated that if rejection problems can be overcome, "spare parts" surgery involving limbs and even facial features might become a reality.



Giant steps for autistic kids

BY BRENDA BRANSWELL

When Yolande L.'a son was only a toddler, he showed signs of being precocious. At 3, he could put together a 50-piece puzzle and read Dr Seuss on his own. "In the beginning, we thought: 'Hey, this is a brilliant kid,'" says Yolande, a Montreal physiotherapist. Her son *was* smart—but he also exhibited some curious behavior. He spoke in vague, incomplete sentences and struggled to understand the meaning of the word "yes." He also showed no interest in playing with other children, when he arranged Lego, it was always in an identical pattern. "I just felt there was something wrong," says Yolande, who does not want her family name published to shield her son's privacy. After consulting several doctors, she and her husband, an engineer, finally received the diagnosis: their son, now 12, had mild symptoms of autism, a developmental disability stemming from a neurological disorder. Worried that he could not cope in a regular class, Yolande enrolled her son at age 4 in an innovative Montreal school for autistic children called Giant Steps. "I knew he needed a lot of one-to-one," says Yolande, "and I knew that the [regular] school would never be able to furnish that."

Most of the country's estimated 5,000 autistic children attend public schools—in specialized or mainstream classes, or a combination of both. But the autistic present a special challenge to cash-strapped public schools. Typically, autistic children have problems speaking and interacting with others. What for most people is background noise or a minor physical sensation—the rub of a wool sweater, for example—can overwhelm their senses. "Autism is probably the hardest disability for the school system to handle," allows Don Reilly, a regional vice-president of the Ontario Public School Board Association and a former superintendent of special education.

Play therapy helps children overwhelmed by sounds and touch

The lifeline for Yolande's family and others began 17 years ago as an afternoon music, language and play program for withdrawn autistic children. Founded by music therapist Darlene Berringer, Giant Steps became a full-fledged school with government sponsorship in 1984 and now has satellite schools in Toronto and Kamloops, B.C., as well as in the United States and Australia. The school combines an academic and therapeutic approach to break through the sensory barriers of a disorder that can cause children to wall themselves off in silence or hurt themselves and others in their frustration to communicate. Located in the City of Westmount on the border of downtown Montreal, the school is a refuge for 75 English- and French-speaking students with autistic symptoms from mild to severe.

The school itself is ablaze with color. The walls are lined with bright student-made paintings. The occupational therapy room has a swing and a tub of balls to help students relax and develop co-ordination. On a recent visit, four and five-year-olds counted along with a teacher. When they reached the number three, they dragged out the sound before excitedly yelling "Stop" on a cue from their instructor. "You want to give them the inhibition factor because they don't know how to stop," explains Berringer, who won a Governor General's Medal in 1993 for her work. Prior to being integrated into nearby schools, the students are taught a variety of social and learning skills as well as music therapy to help them deal with sound. In some cases a student can be wrapped in a blanket and settled in a beanbag chair with soft music to help them relax. Then, more sounds are added, Berringer says. "It is almost like retraining the brain." With its one-to-one staff-child ratio, the program isn't cheap: it costs the school roughly $27,000 a year per student, of which the Quebec ministry of education pays approximately $17,000. Parents and donors make up the rest.

Giant Steps has a waiting list of hundreds from around the world seeking to get into the program. After a group of Kamloops families pleaded for help, Berringer set up a satellite school there in 1989. Lorraine Ward, a West Vancouver accountant, and her nine-year-old son Willie make the four-hour commute to Kamloops every week. Ward says she sought out the program "because public school was a very painful ordeal" for her son, largely due to the noise level. He was often removed from class for acting out his frustrations, says Ward; he also pinched his teacher's aide and started biting. "Right now," adds Ward, these kids "are just thrown into the mainstream and they're not successful. It's not working for anybody—not for those special-needs kids or the regular kids or the teachers."



BAYNE STANLEY FOR MACLEAN'S

Pugh with son Adam, 7, in Vancouver; Berringer (left) in a tub at Montreal's Giant Steps school: early intervention is the key

Deborah Pugh, program director at the Autism Society of British Columbia, argues that autistic preschoolers should have at least 20 hours of one-on-one language therapy a week. "Autism is all about not knowing the social cues," says Pugh. If children are put in a social environment without the means of communicating, she says, "most kids either explode or they just totally withdraw."

Giant Steps has its share of critics. One oft-cited charge is that the school has never conducted a complete evaluation to test the success of its graduates. Berringer says they lack the funds to pay for a study themselves. Peter Zwack, head of the Quebec Society for Autism, praises the Montreal school on several fronts, but he argues that some behavioral approaches are more effective, particularly the so-called Lovaas treatment developed initially by Dr. O. Ivar Lovaas at the University of California at Los Angeles during the 1960s. The Lovaas approach involves training children to perform simple everyday tasks in small components before moving on to more complex skills such as language. It has some ardent supporters. Michelle Auton, whose five-year-old son Connor suffers from autism, launched a class action suit against the B.C. government in August on behalf of 130 families after the ministry of health refused to fund the Lovaas treatment for which the families have been paying privately.

Predictably, parents have differing views on what is best for their children. But the one fact that experts seem to agree on is the need for early intervention. "I'm a fierce proponent," says Dr. Constance Lalinec, a psychologist at the Montreal Children's Hospital. Lalinec assesses toddlers with developmental delays and behavioral problems, many of whom have pervasive developmental disorder, or PDD, of which autism is a subset. She also works with parents of children with PDD to teach them how to deal with tantrums and head-banging, and how to improve their children's social and language skills. The early years are crucial, says Lalinec, because the brain is more malleable in young children. Language skills are the key to social success later in life, adds Dr. Peter Szatmari, a professor of psychiatry at the Centre for the Studies of Children at Risk at McMaster University. "If you can improve the capacity for developing language through early intervention," he says, "you really do seem to be able to make a profound impact on their outcome several years later."

At Giant Steps, integrating autistic students into community schools can take from three months to two years. For Yolande's son, integration began in kindergarten. He was accompanied by his "shadow," a teacher's aide from Giant Steps. By Grade 3, he was on his own in a regular class. And Yolande maintains that he is thriving. last June at his graduation ceremony from elementary school he won an award in French. His obsessive behavior is largely eliminated and he now has friends. In his mom's view, he has taken a giant step. □



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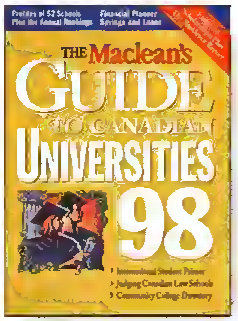
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Maclean's

WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

Films

Fate and fast times

A runner's story goes the dramatic distance



Potter (left), Crudup: Steve Prefontaine was fuelled by a combustible mix of passion and ego

WITHOUT LIMITS
Directed by Robert Towne

It is a true story, and a good one. Steve Prefontaine was a fiercely competitive runner from Oregon, a rebellious track star who had the charisma, and arrogance, of a rock star. Racing distances from 2,000 to 10,000 m, he set seven American records. After suffering a noble defeat at the Munich Olympics, he was favored to win the approaching 1976 Games in Montreal. But Prefontaine's life was cut short in a car crash before he got the chance. He was 24.

Without Limits is a two-tiered romance. It is first a kind of father son love story about a cocky athlete and his ornery coach. It is also a love story about a runner and the hard-to-get girl he is trying to catch. As the impetuous Prefontaine (nicknamed "Pre"), Billy Crudup creates a nicely tarnished portrait of a raw American hero, an athlete fuelled by a combustible mix of passion and ego. And Canadian-born Donald Sutherland is tremendous as the University of Oregon's Bill Bowerman, the wily coach who became Pre's devoted mentor—and who invented the first Nike running shoe (stamping out soles with his wife's waffle iron).

There is a volatile chemistry between the coach and his protege. Bowerman is a high priest of the track, fanatically absorbed in the physics of what it takes to win. He is infuriated by Pre's insistence on "front running"—trying to stay ahead of the pack throughout a race. But the athlete wants no part of winning ugly. For him, "a race is a work of art."

Co produced by Tom Cruise and Paula Wagner, the team behind *Mission: Impossible*, the drama is pumped up with a steroid dose of sentimental bombast. Soft-rock hits from the '70s pad the sound track, overtaken by trumpets as the races come down to the wire. And, with a running time of two hours, *Without Limits* feels a bit shaggy for a movie about speed.

But at the heart of the film are some wonderfully intimate scenes. Director and co-writer Robert Towne—who covered similar ground with his 1982 track movie *Personal Best*—has an uncanny ear for dialogue. There is a relationship discussion between Prefontaine and his sweetheart, Marv Marckx (Monica Potter), that is devastating in its Zen like truth and simplicity. And as the inspirational patriarch, Sutherland has never been better. With his stirring graveside elegy to Prefontaine, it becomes clear that this actor is one of Hollywood's great unsung heroes. He has never been nominated for an Academy Award. When Oscar's long-distance race heats up this fall, he deserves to be at the front of the pack.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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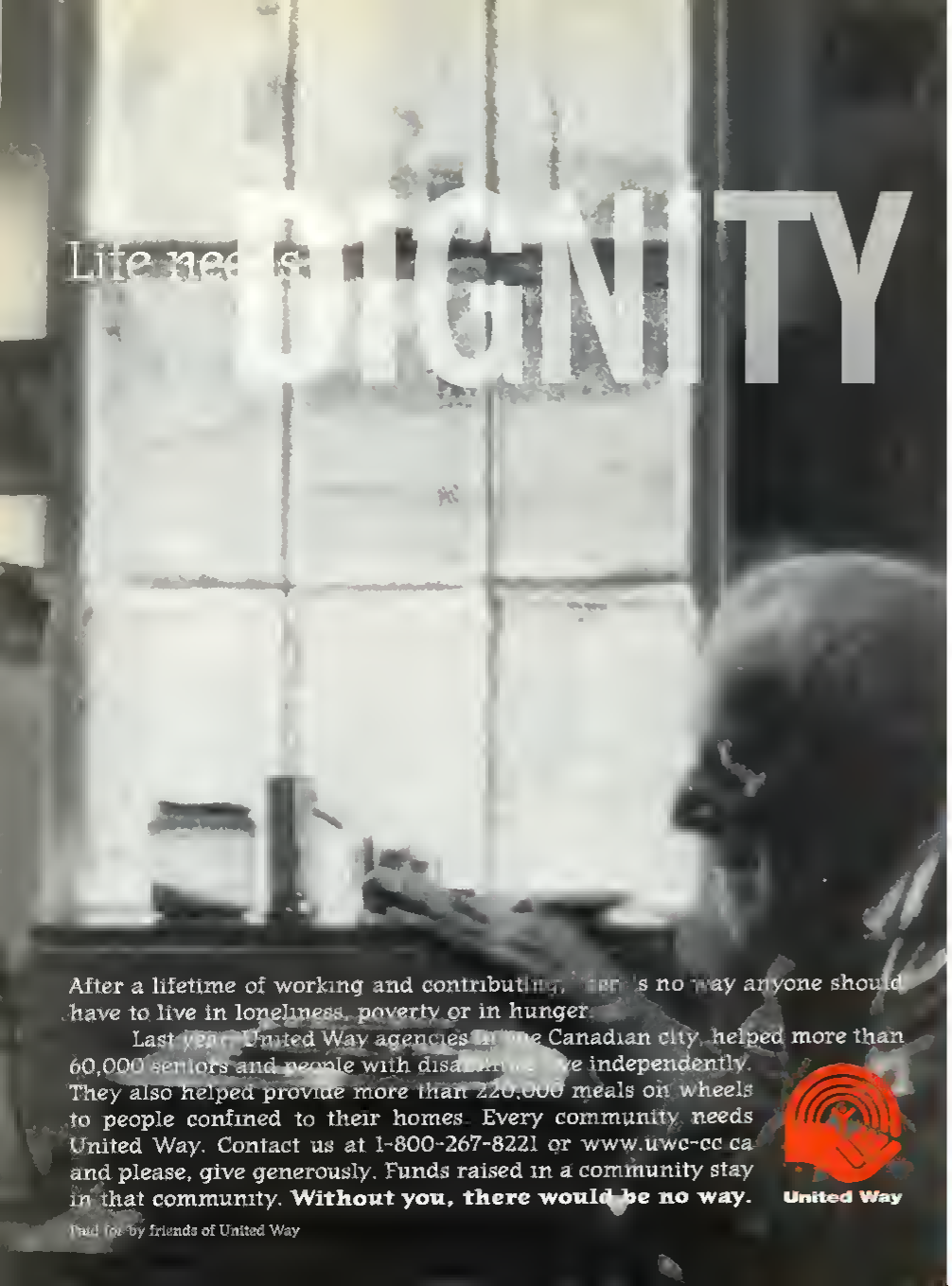
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Scene from the movie: a funny anti-fascist fable

FILMS

An ant and his rants

ANTZ
Directed by Eric Darnell and Tim Johnson

Finally, a Woody Allen movie that is fun for the whole family. Allen did not write or direct *Antz*, a computer-animated feature set in an Orwellian ant colony. But he voices the starring role. And there is something strangely satisfying, even appropriate, about "seeing" Woody cast as a bug. He plays Z, a neurotic worker ant who looks like E.T., with baleful eyes and a nervous smile of Chiclet teeth. Allen puts his stamp on the role from the opening scene: Z lies on the psychiatrist's couch, fretting about his fear of enclosed spaces, his "abandonment issues," and the dilemma of being "a middle child in a family of five million." He is not cut out for a career in dirt—"I can only lift 10 times my own weight"—and the colony's collective ethos makes him want to "curl up into a larval position and weep."

Woody Allen's voice and wit enliven a giddy animated feature

With the one-liners zinging by, *Antz* has the giddy innocence of an early Woody Allen comedy. And it is remarkable how clearly his personality pops through the animation—apparently, he took some licence with the script by Todd Alcott and Chris and Paul Weitz. Sylvester Stallone voices the role of Z's best friend, Weaver, a soldier ant who trades places with Z so that Z can get close to Princess Bala, an ant-babe played by Sharon Stone. The stellar cast of voices also includes Dan Aykroyd and Jane Curtin as a couple of snobbish wasps (in every sense of the word), Gene Hackman as a megalomaniacal villain, and Christopher Walken as his acerbic henchman.

Clocking in at a brisk 70 minutes, the story unfolds as a witty anti-fascist fable. General Mandible (Hackman) is intent on liquifying the colony to make way for a superior race of ants. And Z unwittingly gets in the way. The film-makers have great fun marshalling their ant masses into mock *Triumph of the Will* pageants. At one point, there is even a whiff of Marxist revolution as an ant yells "It's the workers who control the means of production!"

The action, meanwhile, is spectacular. Z survives a battle between ants and termites that leaves more carnage than the beach assault in *Saving Private Ryan*. He is chased by fireballs from a boy's magnifying glass. He drags the Princess off to a promised land called Insectopia, a trash-can paradise with maggots roller-coasting through rotten apples.

A DreamWorks production, *Antz* is one of two computer-animated ant movies due out this fall—Disney will release *A Bug's Life* on Nov. 25. Still, it is only the second fully computer animated feature ever made (after 1995's *Toy Story*). And, at the larval stage of the medium's evolution, there is a thrilling novelty in seeing these hard-bodied figures cavort in a limbo that lies somewhere between cartoon and live action. It is a world where a reincarnated Woody Allen seems right at home—as the ultimate ant(i)-hero.

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Maclean's
WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

Tussling over the tube

Broadcasters and producers square off over Canadian content

BY JOHN GEDDES

It was the sort of Bay Street brusqueness that might have worked as a line of dialogue for one of the tough talking stock promoters on the TV series *Traders*. On the opening day of the Canadian Radio television and Telecommunications Commission hearings on the future of Canadian TV last week, Scott Cuthbertson, a broadcasting industry analyst for TD Securities Inc., lost patience with the polite debate going on between CRTC officials and TV executives. Canadian shows, he interjected, have a record of "dismal performance" in the intensely competitive entertainment marketplace. He doubted that private networks would bother airing homegrown drama at all if they were not forced to by CRTC regulations. "To put it bluntly, from a financial standpoint, Canadian programming is a cost of doing business," Cuthbertson said, as faces reddened around the windowless government hearing room in Hull, Que.

Later, in the drab corridor outside, his remarks had the TV and film production industry's heaviest heavyweight fuming. "Scott Cuthbertson was hilarious at best," railed Michael MacMillan, chairman and chief executive of newly merged Alliance Atlantis Communications, the Toronto-based maker of *Traders*, *Due South* and *Cold Squad*. "If our programs are no good, then why are we able to export them around the world?" The clash of viewpoints dominated the first week of CRTC hearings, which are scheduled to run until the middle of next month. In one camp, the broadcasters, who brought along Cuthbertson for his hard-nosed assessment of their sector, urged the CRTC to look closely at what attracts audiences and makes money. In the other, the producers touted their recent successes and appealed to the CRTC's traditional preoccupation with promoting Canadian culture. Some time early next year, the CRTC is expected to sort out the conflicting messages and issue a report updating—perhaps even overhauling—its approach to regulating what Canadians watch on the tube.

If MacMillan was boasting about the international appetite for his shows, he was also pressing for the CRTC to impose much tougher rules to put those programs in front of domestic audiences. The Canadian Film and Television Production Association—of which Alliance Atlantis is by far the biggest member—asked the CRTC to force private broadcasters to air Canadian shows as fully 50 per cent of the entertainment programming in the peak evening viewing hours, up from the current 12-per-cent Canadian slice of prime-time drama and variety. "Canadians deserve to regain their own prime time," said Elizabeth McDonald, president of the association.

Production companies may have more in mind than contributing to Canada's identity. To reach their target for Canadian content in prime time, McDonald proposed that broadcasters should be required by the CRTC to spend 10 per cent of their revenues buying Canadian entertainment programs, up from less than four per cent now. That would amount to an additional $70 million a year flowing from broadcasters to Alliance Atlantis and many smaller production companies.

That sort of calculation had the network executives attending the hearings squirming in their seats. Their lobby group, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, argued in its submission to the CRTC for a radically different approach. Instead of compelling the private networks to spend more on Canadian content and air more of it in prime time, the broadcasters called for an entirely new CRTC emphasis on counting up how many viewers the shows attract. "We believe we are essentially stalled if we do not now pay attention to how many Canadians are watching us," said association president Michael McCabe.

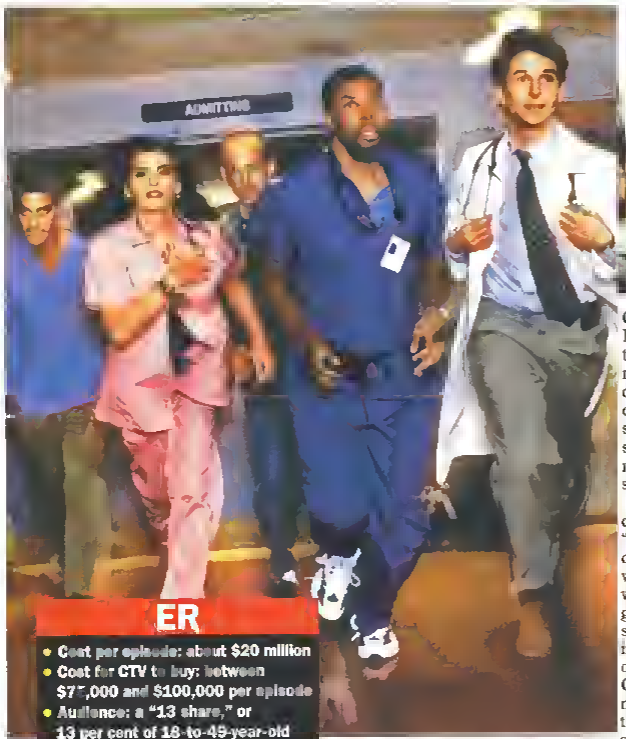
McCabe maintained that broadcasters now lose, on average, 40 cents for every dollar they spend to put Canadian shows on the air. "The problem is the programming we have to work with," he declared. "What we're saying is, help us make the Canadian programs work better. Do not force it into programming slots where it can't work." The broadcasters urged the CRTC to set overall viewing goals—not the prime-time quotas urged by the producers. McCabe said a reasonable target would be to raise viewing of English-Canadian programming modestly over five years to 35 per cent of all the television Canadians watch, up from about 32 per cent now. For entertainment programs—as opposed to the generally more successful Canadian sports, news and current affairs shows—the broadcasters' association suggested a target of boosting viewership of Canadian shows to 10 per cent from 7.5 per cent now. (On French television, Canadian content already accounts for 69 per cent of all viewing, so the CRTC's deliberations on TV in Quebec are on a separate track.)

But there were signs last week that the CRTC regards the broadcasters' emphasis on luring big audiences as a doubtful objective for federal regulation. In a revealing exchange, the commission's vice-chairwoman for broadcasting, Andrée Wylie, asked whether aiming for popularity would mean lowering program quality. "Clearly, in a society like ours, what people choose has to guide us broadly in what we call quality," McCabe told her. But, Wylie responded, "if you say, 'Let the people decide what they want to watch,' that means that the largest number of people decide for the smaller number of people."

Broadcasters and producers did not see eye to eye on much, but they did agree that Canadians' demand for programs made in their own country is not growing. In their statistic-laden presentations, both sides noted that during the past 10 years—despite the proliferation of Canadian specialty channels and increased federal funding for production—Canadians have continued to devote only about a third of their time in front of the tube to domestic shows. The two camps point fingers at each other when asked why that number is frozen. The producers argue that broadcasters, who can readily acquire American TV fare for less money, have little economic incentive to buy and promote Canadian alternatives. The broadcasters counter that producers, with government subsidies available even if the programs they create fail commercially, are not being pushed to appeal to big audiences.

Even the best Canadian-made TV dramas almost never win in head-to-head competition with U.S. rivals. Last year, the critically acclaimed *Traders*, for example, won a respectable three per cent of 18-to-49-year-old viewers for Global in its Thursday evening time slot. But running opposite it on CTV is the U.S. hit *ER*, which attracted a stellar 13 per cent of 18-to-49-year-olds. And while Global pays about $200,000 an episode to buy *Traders* from Alliance Atlantis, industry sources estimate CTV picks up each hour of *ER* from its U.S. producer for less than half that amount. (CTV would not disclose exactly how much it pays). MacMillan argues that as long as Canadian networks can make much more money by shopping for surefire U.S. hits than they can by cultivating unproven Canadian drama, government regulation is essential. "At times of the day when Canadians are watching TV, there have to be Canadian programs available," he told *Maclean's*. "I'm talking about prime time."

At least one key player will not be testifying at the hearings: the United States government. Canadian broadcasting industry sources said they have been alerted privately by U.S. trade officials that Canada's television policies are expected to be a future source of friction between Ottawa and Washington. And with the federal government already locked in a trade dispute with the United States over federal subsidies and protections for the magazine industry, broadcasters take seriously the threat of the battle spreading into TV policy. Contacted by *Maclean's*, U.S. trade policy officials would not discuss their specific concerns, but said they were monitoring the CRTC hearings. By the time the CRTC gets around to changing the rules, the players in the Canadian TV industry, now squaring off over the way they are regulated, could find themselves united by a powerful outside threat. □



ER

- Cost per episode: about $20 million
- Cost for CTV to buy: between $7",000 and $100,000 per episode
- Audience: a "13 share," or 13 per cent of 18-to-49-year-old Canadians watching TV in that time slot (Thursdays, 10 p.m.)
- Rough estimate of ad revenues per episode: $200,000



Traders

- Cost per episode: about $1.2 million
- Cost for Global to buy: $200,000 per episode
- Audience: a "3 share," or three per cent of 18-to-49-year-old Canadians watching TV in that time slot (Thursdays, 10 p.m.)
- Rough estimate of ad revenues per episode: $125,000

MacMillan: worldwide sales of shows





Allan Fotheringham

In Blahland, the middle is all a muddle of mush

Has there ever been a time when the country was so overwhelmed by Blah? Any period within living memory that an overriding mush of mediocrity has piled up, nine feet high, over the entire body politic? Think back. We think the answer is no.

The prime ministership of the land has disappeared under a blanket of noncommittal mumble. He is not responsible for anything. He says nothing comprehensible. He wriggles and waffles and slips into a deep hole of greyness. Policy is an enemy. The direction is zigzag. Nothing sticks to him. It is the politics of molasses.

The reason he does not do anything is because he does not have to. Everyone else is trying to move to where he is. Across the floor, Parson Manning has turned as pink as his latest hair tint, attempting to find some secure political base.



ROY PETERSON

A strict law-and-order messiah of yesteryear, he is unhorsed by the revelation that his law-and-order whipcracker in the back bench has been arrested and charged over a long-ago incident involving two underage females. Other members of his flock are in a tizzy over a pension. It is like trying to herd cats.

His solution is to try to move to the middle, to prove Reform is a party just like the other parties, not some weirdos who bay at the moon and want to hang all jaywalkers.

In the meantime, Alexa McDonough had a conversion on the road to Damascus. The only difference is that she took a train to Damascus. The NDP leader, born to a millionaire socialist who was one of the founders of the CCF, this summer loaded her entire caucus on a train to tour the country. (How she found the only train still working in Canada is a mystery that still remains.)

Unloading the gang in Halifax, she announced that her NDP must open "lines of communication" with small and medium-sized businesses. Handsome, telegenic Nelson Riis was named the party's first spokesman on business issues. Labor leaders Buzz Hargrove and Bob White naturally denounced her.

Alexa wants to get to the middle, where Parson is already hugging Jean Chretien. It's getting crowded and will be more so.

Off in the distance, hidden on the back pages, the Tories are trying to elect a leader on Oct. 24, also known as the new navigator on the Titanic. Things grow murky, however, as Hughie Segal has charged that front-runner Joe Clark is drifting towards the title by the strategy of pronouncing no policies at all.

This is brilliant stuff (and true) because Joe is searching for the middle. This is such serious stakes that the party brass has fined Segal $10,000 because he brought too many supporters to a leadership rally. This demonstrates, naturally, that the Tories are on the right wicket, pronouncing such nonsense that no one can figure out where they stand and therefore—*mirabile dictu!*—they are in the middle, lost with all the rest.

It is really crowded in the morass in the middle, all arms and legs akimbo. Paul Martin has twisted himself into knots so that he looks like a pretzel in heat attempting to prove to all of us that he isn't going to approve bank mergers while he prepares to do the same.

In his desire to appear all things to all men on his quest to succeed J. Chretien, he resembles Dr. Dolittle's pushmi-pullyu, the beast with a head at either end. He looks uncomfortable in the disguise, as any sensible beast would.

Everyone is fleeing to the middle ground, where the votes are, all jumbled up in an unseemly mess. Lucien Bouchard has enraged the fire-breathing diehards of the Parti Quebecois wringing out of them a concession that he will hold a referendum only when "winning conditions" have been achieved—the eventuality probably being never.

For this he has been attacked of course by Jolly Jock Parizeau who hates the middle and is really happy when he's off on a tightwire somewhere, suspended only by his own moustache. In all, it is why Blah reigns, why no one can put a finger on where anyone stands, since they are all in a muddle in the middle.

In helping to sort things out, there once were discernible figures in the land—real, live individuals who did not appear as puppets. There were the two bookends of the nation, Wacky Bennett in Wacky Columbia and Joey Smallwood in Newfoundland, each of them easy to pick out in a parade.

There were two giants in the crowd, John Robarts of Ontario and Jean Lesage of Quebec, and Tommy Douglas in the navel of the nation. Today? Does anyone know the name of the premier of Prince Edward Island? Does anyone care? Look at the group photo at federal-provincial conferences. One hair stylist has blow-dried the mall.

Can anyone tell a Tory premier from a Liberal premier? Saskatchewan's Roy Romanow, the semi-demi socialist, is more conservative than Alberta's Ralph Klein, who can fit into any party depending on which way the wind is blowing.

It is Blahland, the amorphous swamp of principle, where everybody wears rubber boots to cover their tracks, lest they be found to have said something that is understood.



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